

A N
ACCOUNT
Of the Taking of
CARTHAGENA
BY THE
FRENCH,
In the Year 1697.

Containing all the Particulars of that
Expedition, from their first setting
out, to their return into *B R E S T*.

By *Monsieur De Pointis*,
Commander in Chief.

Illustrated with a large Copper Plate,
Describing the Situation of *Cartha-*
gena and Parts adjacent.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Sam. Buckley*, at the *Dolphin*
over-against *St. Dunstan's Church*,
in *Fleet-Street*. 1698.

ACCOUNT

CARTHAGEN

PRICE

THE CITY OF CARTHAGEN
in the West Indies, which
now lies like a
deadly Gorgon, at the
mouth of the bay, and is
a Province of New Granada,
being a few hours ride
by rail to the capital
but is still a market to the coast
(Castille) and seems to be built in the
year 1533, by Pedro de Heredia, and
was founded by Diego Rodriguez
about eight years after the foundation
of the city.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE City of Carthagena, in the West-Indies (which now gives Title to a considerable Government of the same Name, and is reckon'd a Province of New Granada; or, according to some Writers, of New Andaluzia; but by others is annex'd to the Golden Castille) was begun to be built in the Year 1532. by Peter de Heredia, and was finished by Georgio Robledo, about Eight Years after the Foundation was laid.

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The PREFACE.

The Situation of its Port was found so convenient for the Spanish Fleets, and such Quantities of rich Merchandize were brought down near to it, by the Confluence of the great Rivers of Santa Martha and the Magdalena, that the Town encreased in Wealth, Number of People, Stately Edifices, and in a Jurisdiction over Five or Six petty Cities, till in the Year 1585, It was sack'd by the Valour of a few English, under the Command of Sir Francis Drake: in a Reign, when the Publick Good and Honour of England was the chief Business at Court, and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our Proud Enemies; who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleets abroad, and our Naval Applications at Home.

But this City of Carthagena received a greater Blow (before it was perfectly repair'd) from Five Privateers, led on by a disgusted Spaniard, who burnt the Place to Ashes, after they had surpriz'd the Governour asleep, and seiz'd a mighty Treasure: Yet, for all this, it rais'd its Head again, number'd above Twenty Thousand Inhabitants (whereof Four Thousand were Spaniards,

The PREFACE.

Spaniards, the rest Mesticoes and Slaves) and improv'd daily in Riches and Magnificence, till taken by the French from Brest, and the Bucaniers from Petit Guaves, who severally plúnder'd it; as is particularly related by Monsieur de Pointis.

Into such a fatal Stupidity are a certain People (by Nature Brave, formerly Conquerors and Heroes) of late degenerated, either from the ill Influences of their State, or Church, or both; that now they fall a Prey to every Invader, and even to Privateers, and Vagabonds: The Causes whereof are too manifest, and own'd by a judicious and honest Writer of their own Country, whose Sense I shall here deliver.

‘ Unreasonable Taxes are multiply'd
‘ and entail'd upon the Spaniards, under
‘ Pretence of making good Deficiencies
‘ and Funds of Interest: The Treasury
‘ grown Monstrous, either by obstructing
‘ or diverting the Publick Aliment, and
‘ by contracting new Debts: The Grandees themselves conspire to cheat in their
‘ several Stations, in order to advance
‘ or

THE PREFACE

or support their own Extravagancies :
The Court Officers, Gabellers, and such
Swarms of mercenary Vermine are innum-
merable, draining the very Blood of the
People : The Standing Forces upon Free
Quarter, the Shipping neglected, the Gar-
risons and Magazines very ill supply'd,
most of the Governours and Men in
Trust (like so many Vultures) griping
whatever comes within the Catch of their
Talons. Trade is discourag'd by seem-
ingly advantageous Loans, by high Cu-
stoms, Indulto's, and other Imposts. The
Church is over-grown with Revenues,
Inquisitions and Dominion ; all which
have contributed to impoverish and despi-
rit the Mass of the Body Politick, and
to reduce it into the Figure, we now
behold it in ; all over Rickets, with large
Heads and wither'd Limbs, for want of a
proportionable Circulation, and a due Ad-
ministration.

These Chronical Distempers in the Spa-
nish Governments in Europe, have infe-
cted the rest in America, where their
Weakness is discovered upon all Occasions.
Indeed Monsieur de Pointis carried Twenty
times the Force that Sir Francis Drake,

or

The PREFACE.

or the Privateers after him, did ; yet considering the Spaniards had frequent and very early Intelligence of the French Preparations, and of their Arrival in the West-Indies, methinks their Defence was very Languid, and scarce credible to one unacquainted with their present Constitution, which will produce the like Symptoms and bad Effects in any other Nation, that has the Misfortune to suck in the same Contagions.

But to return to Carthagena, whose Territory is related to be very fruitful, only a little too moist by the violent and frequent Rains.

The Journals of Sir Francis Drake's Voyages commend the Plenty and Variety of Fruits found there ; Oranges, Citrons, Limes, Guavo's, some Spices and Balsams, especially a sort of long Pepper, and the Tolu, mentioned by Carolus Clusius, Franciscus Ximenes, John de Laet, Margrave, Hernandes, and others, are brought from the adjacent Parts in great Quantities. Gold is wash'd down by the Torrents from the Mountains, where some precious Stones are found.

In

The PREFACE.

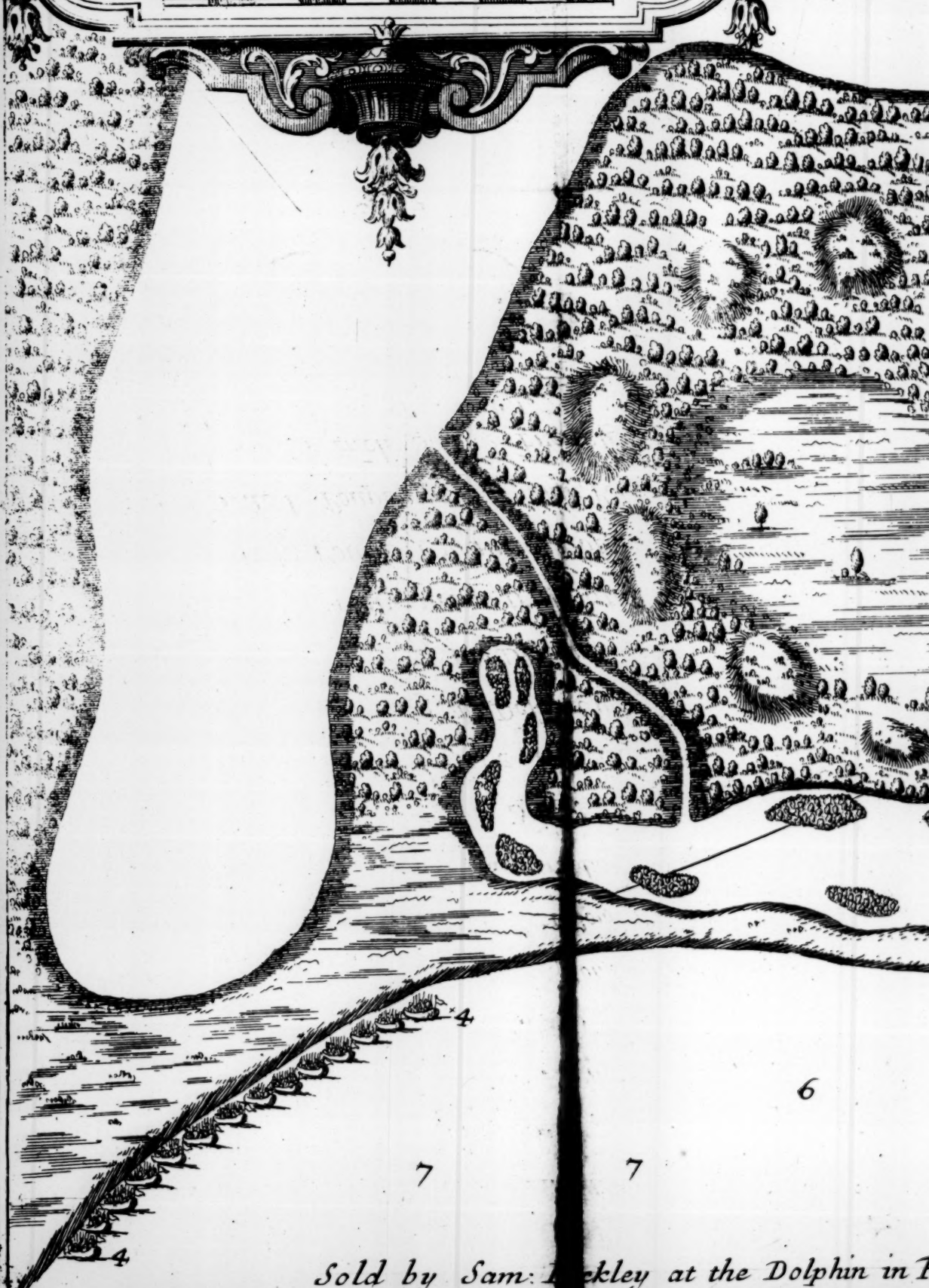
In a Word, the Country is much the same with the neighbouring Isthmus of Darien, which has been so well described by Mr. Ringrose, Monsieur Raveneau de Luffan, and more lately by Captain Dampier, and Mr. Wafer, that nothing more need be said here of this Part of the Terra Firma.

2

EXPLANATION

A. Cartagena	2. their Artillery landed
B. Nihimani	R. y ^e Scepter
C. Fort St Lazare	S. the Vermandois
D. Fort St Croix	T. y ^e St Lewis
E. Fort of Boccachica	V. a Galliot Bombarding y ^e City
F. Redout at the entrance of the Basin	Y. a Galliot Bombarding Bocca- -chica
G. the Trenches	1. 2 Mortars battering Bocca- -chica
H. a Battery of 6 Guns	2. the Ships Anchoring
I. a Battery of 3 Guns & two Mortars	before Boccachica
K. a Battery of 6 Guns & one Mortar	3. the Descent upon Bocca- -chica
L. a Battery of one Mortar in the high Way	4. the Descent of y ^e Bucca-
M. a Battery of one Mortar in a little Island	niers frustrated by the
N. Notre Dame de la Poupe	roughness of the Sea
O. Lake of N. D. de la Poupe	5. two Spanish Vessels burnt
P. the Place where the French landed their Troops	6. the French Camp

A Scale of one Mile.

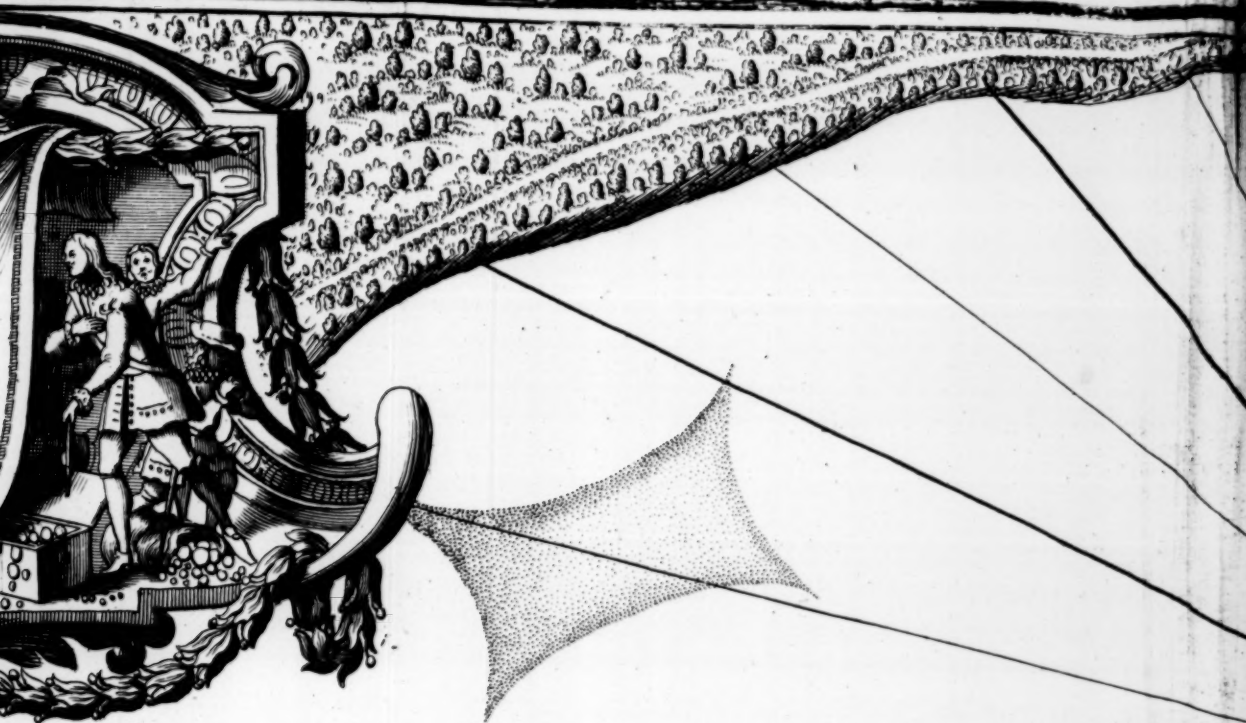




in Fleet street London

A DRAUGHT
OF THE CITY OF
CARTAGENA
ITS HARBOUR AND FORTS



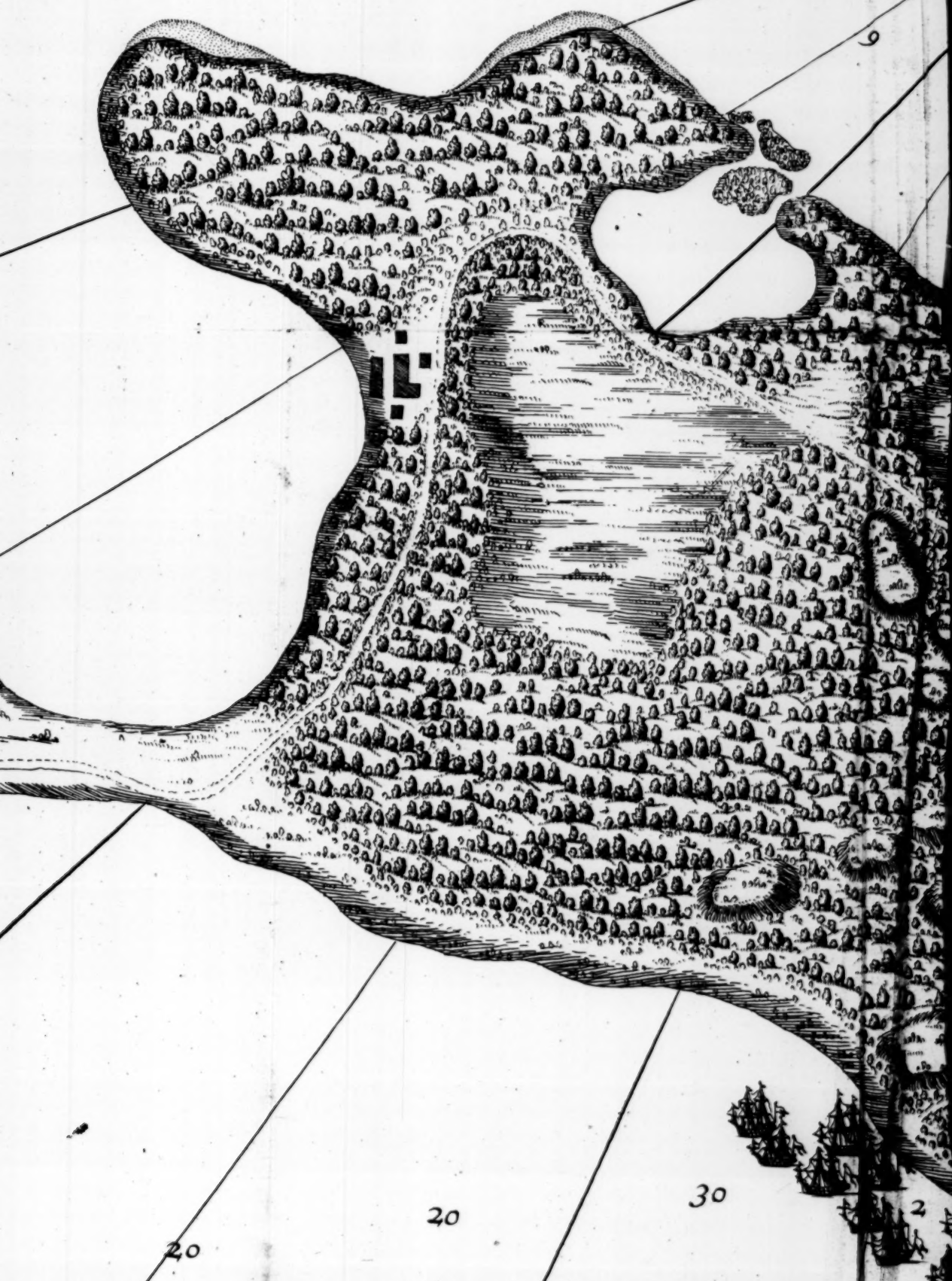


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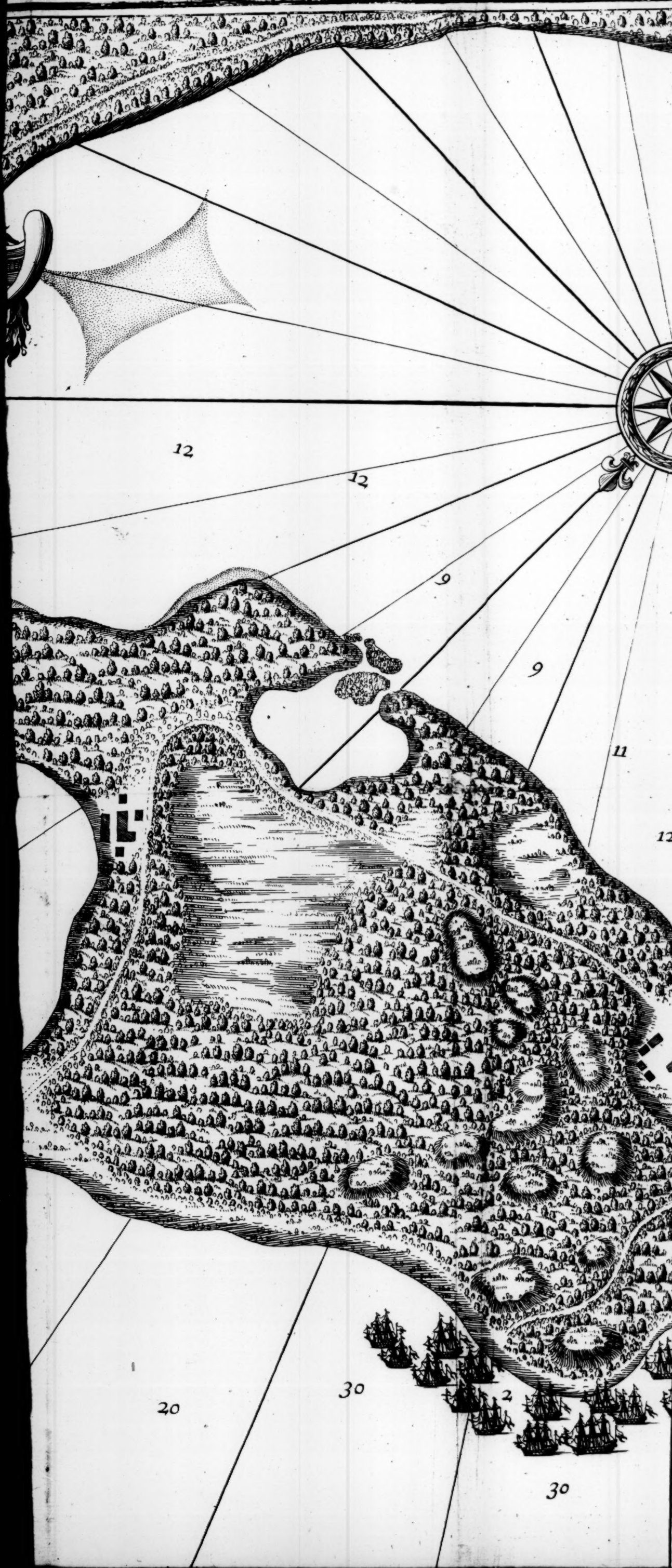


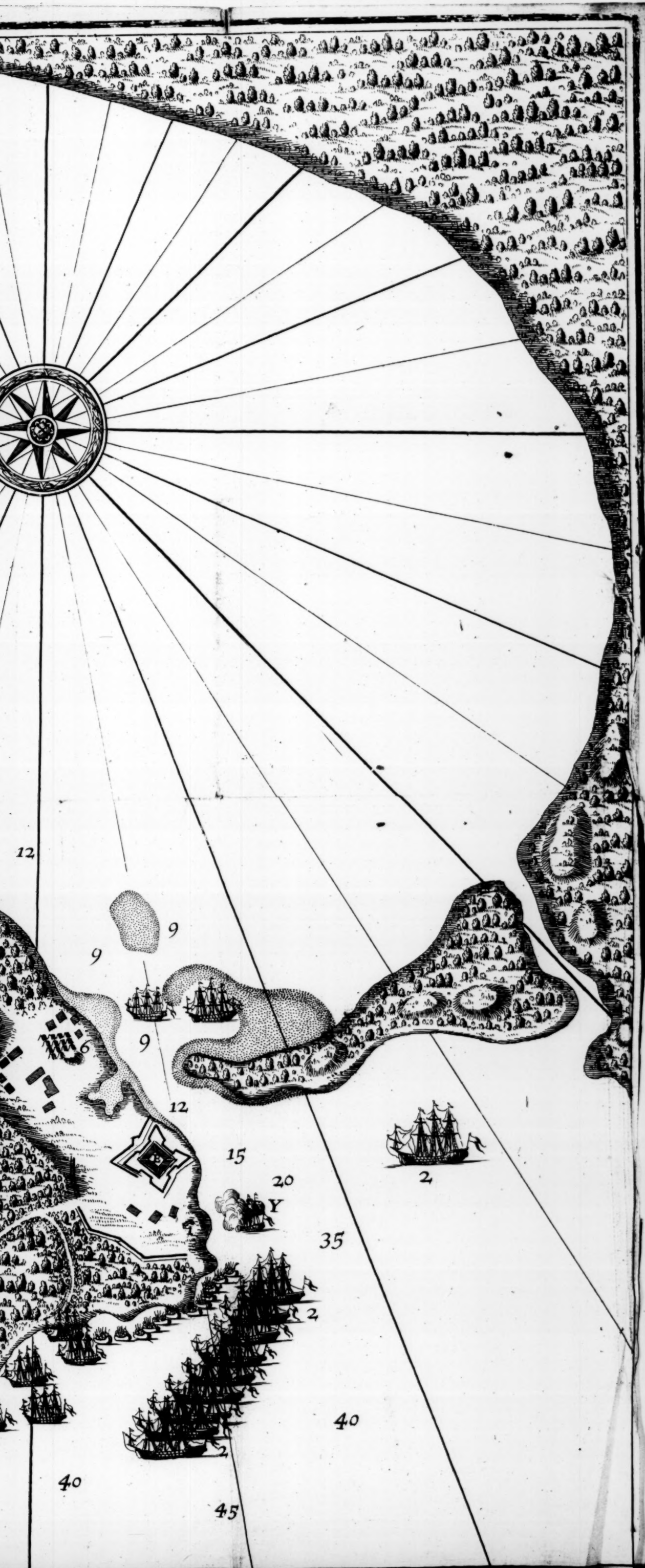
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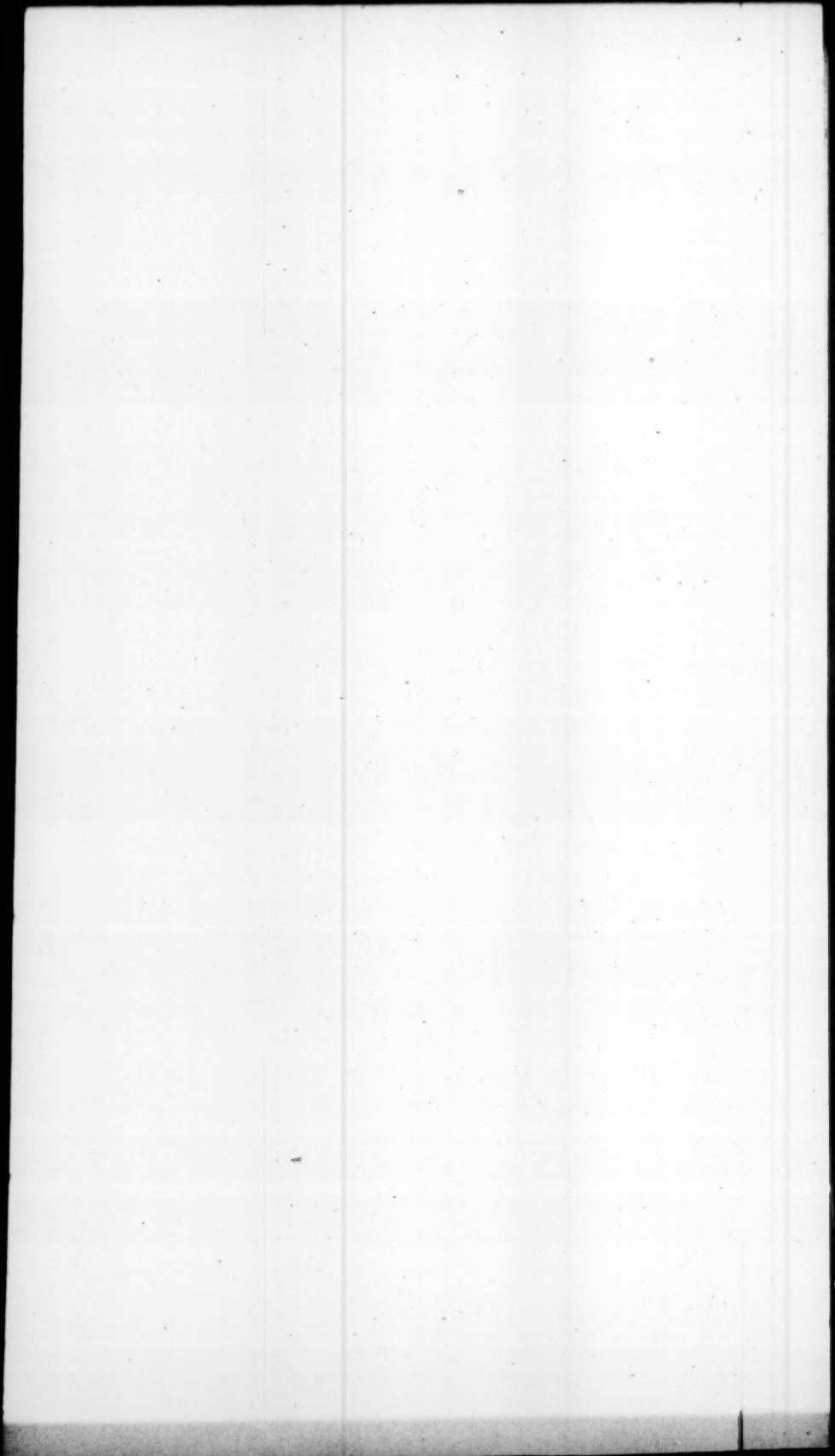
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Monf^r *DE POINTI*'s
ACCOUNT
OF HIS
EXPEDITION
TO
Carthagenæ,
In the YEAR 1697.

THE Design I had long since form'd, of a Naval Expedition, that might be both honourable and advantageous, was put off from time to time by intervening Accidents, although Monf. *Pontchartrain* had received His Majesty's Approbation of the Project I had the Honour to present him; and had, likewise, obtained the Ships, Men, and Ammunitions, which I propos'd to take with me.

B

But

But at length, the laying up of the Fleet, brought by Count *Chateau Renault* from *Toulon*, leaving all the Marine, in a manner, idle ; and the Measures I had taken with Treasurer-General *Vanolles*, seeming to promise a sufficient Fond for the Expence, there appear'd no farther Obstacles to the Execution of this Enterprize.

Hereupon we propos'd our Design to the Publick ; which was so generally lik'd, and People were so forward to bring in their Money, that *Vanolles* was not able to receive it fast enough ; insomuch, that he fancy'd he should be forc'd to refuse several Persons, by reason we had agreed upon the Sum, and resolv'd not to exceed it.

But the Face of Affairs became soon altered ; for the Peace being concluded with *Savoy*, made it hop'd, that it would suddenly be attended with a General One : And 'twas believ'd, that if the War should be at an end, before I was under Sail, I should be order'd to the contrary ; and so the Money employ'd upon our Armament, would be infallibly lost. And now People were so far from offering new Sums, that those who had already engag'd in the Design, would have been very willing to have withdrawn their Contributions.

I could not inform every Body, That Count *Maurepas*, who was acquainted with the Particulars of our Project, had engag'd *Monf. Pontchartrain*, to ask his Majesty, What should
be

be done with our Armament, in case the Peace should be agreed upon? And that His Majesty was pleas'd to answer, That I might go on with it; for, if the Peace should be concluded, he would take Care to re-imburse the Adventurers. And we were assur'd of this Favour, by an exprefs Article inserted in the Margin of the Minutes of the Marine Council, that was held upon this Matter: Nevertheless, many Persons considering, that the best which could happen, would be to receive their Money again, chose rather to keep it in their Purfes.

And besides this Prejudice, the ill Success of some Attempts that preceded mine, and from which great Matters were expected, discourag'd the Publick more than the appearance of an approaching Peace.

By this means we were oblig'd to proceed upon the Fond that was already advanc'd, which was much inferiour to what I had propos'd; and this compell'd me to lessen our Preparations, and consequently weaken the Armament. However, being determin'd to go thorough with my Undertaking, I resolv'd to make use of the Advantages which the Court was pleas'd to confer on me, in allowing me such considerable Succours. So I return'd to *Brest* in the beginning of *October*, 1696; and to work we went, with all imaginable Diligence, to fit out our Fleet: But the bad Weather hinder'd our Careening; so

that we could not get out of *Brest*, but lay in that Road 'till the 6th of *January*; from whence my Project was to have sailed the beginning of the preceeding *November*.

To add to our Misfortune, I was at that time not able to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind, that then offer'd; because I staid for a great Convoy of Arms, and Provisions, that were laden for me at *Rochel*, without which I could not proceed; I had continually expected it for three Months. In the midst of these Perplexities, I understood they were, at last, arrived at *Port Lewis*; where they were forc'd to put in, to avoid a Squadron of the Enemy, that had for some time cruis'd upon that Coast, and had them in sight. By this, I found our Naval Preparation upon the very point of miscarrying; our Provisions were already much diminish'd, and the Appearance very great, that the Enemy's Squadron would remain there, and we utterly consume our Provisions in the Road of *Brest*: Upon which I fix'd my Resolution; which, altho' it seem'd very hazardous, was yet the only Method that the Posture of my Affairs would permit me to take: It was, to find out my Convoy, and even to disengage them at the hazard of a Battle: Now, altho' I should have the best of it, yet it could not be without a mighty Inconveniency to me: But I flatter'd my self, that possibly I might not be discover'd by the Enemy; or, in case of meet-
ing

ing with them, get indifferently well off, and refit at *Port Lewis*; and then try to get out; and happen what would, by whatsoever way it should be my Fate to be lost, I had rather have been ruin'd with our Arms in our Hands, than miscarry for want of Resolution, and in a shameful Abode there.

Accordingly I had given my Orders to sail the next Day; at which time I understood by Signals from *Ushant*, that they descried a very large Fleet. We knew very well, by several Accounts, that there were about Forty *English* Men of War abroad, with Orders to cruize before *Brest*, and by all manner of means to prevent my passage; by which my Departure seem'd impossible, my Enterprize defeated, and my Misfortune unavoidable. However, I propos'd other Matters to my self, and stuck to my first Resolution, not thinking my Condition much worse for this News; the little way between *Brest* and *Port Lewis*, or the entrance into the River of *Morbihan*, of which I had taken particular Care to inform my self, that I might secure my Retreat into it, gave me some Hopes to believe, that I might probably get in thither, before I should be too deeply engag'd in a Battle; and then having once got on Board what the Convoy had brought me, I might, by the Favour of the long Nights, get away, without being seen by the Enemy; or, at the worst, escape with small damage, in a running Fight. So this great Fleet did no

more alter my Circumstances, than if it had been a small Squadron ; against which, in the Juncture I was in , the hazard of fighting was as dangerous as with a Capital Fleet, my Care being to get away , and prosecute the Business of my Project. Besides, if I could get a little before the Enemies, there was no great appearance for them either to come easily up with me, or that they could be in Condition to pursue me for Two thousand Leagues that I might lead them : I had, moreover, the opportunity of separating my Ships in the Night, by ordering them different Courses to the appointed Rendezvous.

The Governor of *Ussant* sent an Express to assure me, That he could discern Forty Men of War, amongst which were Five *English*, or *Dutch* Flags : I received this News at Midnight, and making use of it in a manner quite different to the Opinions of them that sent it me, I made the sailing Signal, and was under Sail by that time it was Day, it being upon the Seventh of *January*, 1697. I had, some Days before, sent my Orders to the Vessels at *Port Lewis*, to come away immediately, running all Hazards, to join me ; but to keep so near the Shoar, that the Enemies Ships might not dare to approach them, or to avoid their Cannon by running into the Ports that are upon that Coast ; which are good enough to cover such small Vessels, as I expected, from the Danger of Cruisers. I had sent the *Mutine-Frigat*, and
the

Expedition to Carthagera.

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the *Providence*-Brigantine, to Convoy them, who expected them at *Pennemarc-Point*.

We were hardly got out of the *Goulet* when we saw the Fleet appear at *Point Raz*, with the small Convoy I had sent to them; whereupon I came immediately to an Anchor at *Bertheaume*, where I made all the haste I could to get our Provisions on Board our Ships and Fly-boats, and by extraordinary Diligence, I was in a Condition of Sailing the next Day.

We had hardly got into our Course, when the *Scepter* struck upon a place, where, according to the Rules of Navigation, there could be no manner of danger, after having struck three times very violently, we thought she was just upon sinking, especially when we saw a great many Planks floating upon the Water; at the same time we perceiv'd her to float, and running immediately to the Pumps, we found she did not make one drop of Water: We could not tell what to think of this Accident; however, it was concluded, that it could not be a Rock she had struck upon, but upon some sunk Vessel that floated under Water, which being less strong than the *Scepter*, had occasioned us that Alarm by the breaking of her Planks, without any ways prejudicing the *Scepter*. We continu'd our Course, endeavouring to avoid the Enemies: I had so regulated my self to the Tides, as to be, by the beginning of the Night, at *Pennemarc-*

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Point:

Point ; besides, there was no great probability I should be discover'd in sailing so little a way, especially by reason of our holding so near to the Coast. I resolv'd at the same time to steer directly from *Pennemarc*, to the Coast of *Spain*, which I design'd to leave to the *Southward*. This Course, so contrary to what is customarily taken, to get clear of the Land, which the Enemies must know I design'd ; and upon which, most probably, they form'd their Method of Cruising, was the most likeliest Expedient to deceive them. This had the desired Effect, and the Wind continuing favourable, I first made Cape *Ortegual*, and afterwards continued my Course towards the Island of *St. Domingo*, where I arriv'd in Fifty five Days ; during which there happen'd nothing remarkable, unless it was, that after having pass'd the Tropick, we met with *West South-West* Winds, and consequently contrary, which is not usual.

The pleasure of arriving at Cape *Francis*, which was that part of *S. Domingo* that I came to, was mitigated by several Accidents. I understood there, that Capt. *Desangets*, who commanded Three Ships in those Seas, for whom I had Orders to join himself with my Squadron, was Eight Days before my Arrival sail'd upon his Return to *France*. I was there likewise inform'd by Mons. *Dannou*, Lieutenant-Governour of the Island, that the Succours which Mons. *Du Casse*, Governour

Expedition to Carthagena. 9

nour of the Coast had prepar'd for me, consisted in about Four hundred Men, altho' he had Orders to join me with the Strength of the whole Colony.

It is true, that by good Fortune all the Pyrates of those parts, which are usually called *Buccaniers*, were met together at that time : It was thought that I might find a Party of them ; but it was no ways to be imagin'd, that I should find them all ; for they go out and come in as they please ; consequently, this Assistance could not be computed at 14 or 1500 Men, as I was made to believe I should find at *St. Domingo* ; neither did they exceed 600 : So I was near upon a Thousand Men behind of my Account.

The Departure of Capt. *Desaugets*, depriv'd me of a like Number of Men, and two great Ships. Moreover, I was fallen short of two great Ships, and several Frigats, specified in my first Project, by which means I found myself reduc'd to half the Force I propos'd at the beginning.

I did not think fit to come to an Anchor at the Cape, but left there Three Frigates, the *Mutine*, the *Avenant*, and the *Marin*, to take in such Forces as might be drawn from thence, and the fresh Provisions which Commissary *Du Tillent* was to supply my Squadron with.

S. *Van-*

S. *Vandril*le, Commander of the *Marin*, that was sent two Months before I left *France*, with Orders for Mons. *Du Cassé* to have the Forces ready that were appointed for my assistance, after he had carried his Dispatches to *Petit Guaves*, failed for the Cape, and attended me there.

In his passage from *France* to *St. Domingo*, he was attack'd by an *English* Ship of 54 Guns, who notwithstanding her Superiority, was forc'd to retire with Shame, after a Fight of several Hours.

Desaugets going for the *Hondura's*, before he return'd to *France*, had order'd the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran*, on Board the *Christ*, taken from the *Spaniards*, to sail directly for *France*, with the *Favorite-Frigat*, whom I found at the Cape upon his departure. These two Ships were both mann'd with the *Favorite's* Crew only, consequently very weak Men of War; wherefore I resolv'd to make use of but one of them, to put all the Men into her, and leave the other Ship at *Petit Guaves*. By Virtue of the King's Letter, which I had to *Desaugets*, and his Squadron, I order'd *La Motte d'Heran*, to join me; which he did, and chose the *Christ* that he commanded.

About Eight a Clock, upon the Sixth of *March*, I came to an Anchor over-against *Exter*, the usual Residence of Mons. *Du Cassé*; who came immediately on Board, to advise with me about the shipping of the Men he

was

was to bring me ; and seeing that I did not dissemble neither my surprize, nor my trouble, at the small Number of Men he had provided for me, he protested, that he had done all he could ; and continually endeavoured to make me have a great Opinion of the good Success of this Attempt ; for, that the *Buccaniers* were at that Juncture all together, and would every Man of 'em perform Wonders. We agreed that he should go to *Petit Guaves*, and that I would be ready by that time it was Day, to get into the Port : *Du Cassé* came thither to join me, having a Design on foot which I did not imagine ; I brought him the Duplicate of the Order which he had received from St. *Vandril*, which he did not read when I delivered it to him, by reason it was wrote in Cyphers. There was added in that Letter, without my knowledge, that he was to contrive the Means of succeeding in an Attempt that was approv'd by His Majesty, without damaging the Colony : This Restriction did in some measure deprive me of the Power of commanding his Forces, seeing he had an opportunity of pretending to keep them for the preservation of his Colony. He said, That he would not insist upon Terms with me, as being perswaded that I would have a regard to his Character. I replied, That the greatest Character he could pretend to, was that of being Captain of a Ship, which he had the Honour to command by his Commission ; all that I could do, was,
that

that he should serve in that Capacity, according to his Seniority, which did submit him to several others, who, nevertheless, would not pretend to concern themselves with the Forces of his Government; in relation to whom, I should address my self to him, that he was to accept this Proposition, or not to embark with me, for I had no Orders to compel him.

After refusing these Offers he left me; and thinking no more of him, I was surpriz'd to hear, that he took all imaginable Care for what was personally necessary to him in this Expedition; and that he reported, He would rather come on Board as a private Soldier, than not engage in so glorious an Affair. He shew'd much Courage and Desire of Glory in his Discourse, and it is pity, that he afterwards discover'd his Resolution to proceed from Motives, and Interests, something less generous.

In the mean time we employ'd our selves in getting of Water, Wood, and other things necessary for the Squadron; and to fit up the Vessels of the *Buccaniers*, which were all unrigg'd; without the help of the Rigging and Cordage, that I ordered to be delivered them by my Squadron, it would have been impossible for them to put to Sea; we likewise distributed the Provisions there, which I had brought for the Forces that were to embark with me; in short, we prepared all things for our Departure. It was then necessary to regulate

regulate the Pretensions of the *Buccaniers*, who desir'd to be assur'd of their Shares of the expected Prizes.

These Free-booters, are, for the most part, compos'd of those that desert from Ships that come upon the Coast : The Advantage they bring to the Governours, protects them against the Prosecutions of the Law ; besides, all those that are apprehended in *France*, as Vagabonds, or such as can give no Account of themselves, are sent to these Islands, where they are oblig'd to serve for Three Years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the Plantations ; at the end of the Term of Servitude, some Body lends them a Gun, and to Sea they go a *Buccaniering*. This Profession hath maintain'd it self a long while by this sort of Recruits, and subsist by their Pyracies ; they were formerly altogether independent, but of late Years, they have been reduc'd under the Government of the Coast of *S. Domingo* ; they have Commissions given them for which they pay the Tenth of all their Prizes, and are now call'd the King's Subjects : For the Governors of *St. Domingo* being enrich'd by them, do mightily extol them for the Damages they do to the *Spaniards*, and endeavour to have it believed, that the *Buccaniers* are the strength and support of the Colony ; whereas, they are, in effect the Ruine of it : For if such as are convey'd thither, were kept from the Liberty of embracing this infamous Profession, which an Impunity

punishment for all sorts of Crimes renders so much belov'd, we should not have lost, in a few Years, above Six thousand Men, that might have improv'd and peopl'd the Colony. And thus, indeed, they would have been truly the strength and support of the place.

As to other Matters, altho' they are pleas'd to be counted the King's Subjects, yet it is with so much Arrogance, as obliges all those that are desirous to make use of them, to court them in the most flattering Terms. This not being agreeable to my Disposition, and being they were in the Dominions of His Majesty, and esteeming them as His Subjects, which the Governor was oblig'd to deliver to me; I plainly told them, That they should find me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a Companion of their Fortune; that if they made any Difficulties, either to embark or obey, I would certainly burn all their Vessels, even to the poorest Boats, and inevitably deprive them of the Means for some Years, if not for ever, of continuing their Depredations.

It was fear'd, that upon these Threats they would betake themselves to the Woods, as being their usual Retreat upon any Dissatisfactions: But I knew they apprehended very much the Execution of my Menaces; and moreover, that the Governor, who is so highly concern'd in their Pyracies, would omit no sort of Care to retain them in their Duty.

The

The Demand they made, of having their Share, in the Division of the Prizes, secur'd to them, was very reasonable ; therefore I explain'd my self in Writing, and caus'd it to be fix'd up in several places, implying, *That they should, Man for Man, have the same Shares of Booty, that was allowed to the Men on Board the King's Ships.*

I was informed of their Customs, and that of divers ways of dividing the Shares, (which is commonly a very troublesome Business) ; the most usual Method was this, of reckoning by the Number of the Men ; for Example : A Vessel of a Hundred Men, hath double the Allowance that is made to another of but Fifty, so the rest in proportion. I made no manner of delay in the Choice I was to make ; as likewise, to acquaint them, that I could not meddle with any thing that belong'd to the King, the Admiral, and the Undertakers of the Armament. That His Majesty had been pleas'd to allow to the several Ships Companies, the Tenth of the First Million, and a Thirtieth part of all the others : And I engag'd my self in Writing, to give the *Buccaniers* the same Terms. *Du Casse* told me, that I had taken the easiest Method, desiring me only to leave with him the Original of that Writing, including the Frigate *Pontchartrain*, commanded by Lieutenant *Mornay*, who desired to serve in the Squadron upon the same Conditions that I had granted to the
Bucca-

Buccaniers : There was likewise comprehend-
ed, at the Desires of *Du Casse*, a Frigate of
S. Malo, fitted both for War and Traffick.
We shall have occasion to mention this Wri-
ting again, in the Sequel of our Story.

Upon the Eighteenth, all the Ships that I
had left at Cape *Francis*, having join'd my
Squadron with *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I
had likewise ordered to join me ; I made
ready on the Nineteenth to go and Anchor
at Cape *Tiburon*, being the furthest Western
Point of S. *Domingo* ; the Water there is bet-
ter, and easier to be got, than in any other
place, so it was absolutely necessary for me to
touch there ; besides, I was very desirous to
get out of Port, to oblige the *Buccaniers* to
come on Board, which they ever defer to the
last moment ; however they at last got on
Board, seeing me at some distance, and fol-
low'd the Squadron, as also the *Pontchartrain*,
which *Du Casse* had chosen for himself ; when,
on a sudden, a violent North-Wind, which
is very extraordinary, and rarely known in
this Season, scatter'd not only the *Buccaniers*,
but likewise all the Ships of my Squadron,
insomuch that I continu'd alone for above
Thirty Hours, two Chaloups sent from the
Scepter, to the assistance of two *Buccaniers* in
danger of stranding, not being able to get up
with me ; but good Weather coming on, we
all met upon the 28th, in the Road of *Irois*,
three Leagues distant from Cape *Tiburon*.

Until

Until then, I had kept my Design secret, not being wholly determin'd on the Matter : *Du Casse*, who understood by his Letters from Court, that the principal design of the Expedition was upon *Carthageria*, did judge the execution impossible, by reason of the several Accidents already mention'd, and the small number of Forces with me. He represented unto me, with much appearance of Reason, That, according to the last Advices from the *Indian* Coasts, the Galleons must be at *Porto Bello*, or upon their way to *Carthageria*, in order to their return for *Spain*; that we might reasonably hope to meet with them, by steering that course; and that, by our strength, we might reckon our selves secure of them, altho' we found them in *Porto Bello*; for notwithstanding the Port is defended by three Castles, yet it is open enough for us to get in, and possess our selves of those Castles, by means of our Bombs. But I had my Reasons not to follow this Opinion : The Galleons might as well be at *Carthageria*, as at Sea, and I was sensible, by my own Experience, how uncertain 'tis to meet Ships at Sea, a thing not to be depended upon; moreover, it seem'd plain to me, that the less the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to

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defend themselves at *Porto Bello*, the less Reason I had to hope for an Advantage by their Defeat, otherwise than in the Honour I might gain; for they would certainly have burnt, or sunk, their Ships, upon the approach of such a Squadron as I had the Honour to Command, and that Treasure not lost to them, must have been absolutely so to me, since I could not possibly have continued long enough there, to get it out of the Water.

These Considerations absolutely dissuaded me from going first of all to *Porto Bello*, which Voyage would have spent my Provisions, and render'd me incapable of any other considerable Attempt. *Vera Cruz* was a more likely place; for we were well assur'd, that one of the Flotas had been there ever since the beginning of *September*, and that they could not go away before the beginning of *May*, therefore I could not miss meeting with them; moreover, my Forces were sufficient to make me Master of the City, which may be entered without our being exposed to the Fire of the Castle, which is impregnable by its advantageous situation: It is built on a Rock, in the middle of the Sea, and surrounded on all sides with extraordinary Fortifications. However, with my great
store

store of Artillery, I could, in a very little time, have reduc'd that Castle to Ashes; besides the Bombs that I could have us'd from my Ships, I might have rais'd what Batteries of Cannon and Mortars I pleas'd on Shoar, which is not above 200 Yards from it.

I should not have run the Risque here, as I must have done at *Porto Bello*, of seeing the *Spaniards* burn their Ships, to deprive me of the Silver: For it being well known, that they do embark the Plate there, but a very few Days before the departure of the Flota, consequently, at the worst, I could only have lost the Merchandizes, of which I made little account. In short, 'tis probable, I should have engag'd in this Expedition, had I not received some Advices at *St. Domingo*, that occasioned me new Perplexities, viz. that tho' the Plate was not us'd to be embark'd until the Day before the Fleet sail'd, and was brought from *Mexico* to *Vera Cruz*, long before 'twas put on Board; yet, of late Years, upon some Jealousies, they bring it no farther than *Pueblo de los Angeles*, forty Leagues up the Country, from whence 'tis convey'd directly on Board the Galleons.

According to the Rules of Navigation, which 'tis not necessary to insert here, the Galleons could not sail until the Month of *May*, yet they might come away later, even until the Month of *August*; so if they had not by chance taken the resolution of coming away with the first of the Season, it being then but *March*, and we not above three Weeks sail from them, I did foresee that our Design would be ruin'd by my arrival before the Plate was brought down, and I was no ways in a condition of marching forty Leagues, with such a small Body of Forces, in an Enemy's, and well-inhabited Country. Moreover, I was not willing to begin with a place, that would have frustrated my farther Intentions, in case I had been unsuccessful: For such is the Nature of the Gulf of *Mexico*, at the bottom whereof *Vera Cruz* is situated, that at our coming out again, it would not be possible for us to entertain any other Thoughts, but those of returning to *Europe*, as well because of the length of the Voyage, as because the Winds and the setting of the Currents, would have prevented all other Attempts to the Eastward.

The

The only place I could fix my Resolutions upon, was *Carthagena*, which lay to Windward; and altho' I should have miss'd of my Aim there, yet it would not have been any Obstacle to my other Designs, not even against *Vera Cruz*, unless I consum'd my time by adventurously falling upon the first place, without a well-grounded assurance of carrying it: The small number of my Forces, was the only thing that could dissuade me from this Attempt: But this want of Strength, might be remedied by good Management.

Capt. *Venner*, an *English-man*, having been several Years in the Service of the *Spaniards*, in the *West-Indies* and Commanded several of their Ships, was lately come into the Service of *France*, and was plac'd on Board *Desangets*, until some other Employ should be given him. This Officer was very well acquainted with the Coasts and Places of the *West-Indies*; he had likewise some knowledge of Geometry, and by the assistance of *Canette*, my principal Ingenier, I got him to draw several Plans, especially that of *Carthagena*, which we found to be

as exact as any thing could be expected that was made by Memory.

My first Design was to have immediately landed with Five thousand Men, near *Carthagera*, not including the Seamen : I expected to have drawn these Forces from the places before-mentioned, with which I reckoned I should be able to force the place, tho' besides its ordinary defence, the whole strength of the Galleons should have been in it. But I was all manner of ways very much mistaken in my Account, scarce having one half of the Forces I propos'd, with which there was no probability of taking a place so famous in *India*, and so well known in *Europe*, for its Fortifications, which I found to be even better than they were reputed to be. The Ships were to Anchor in the open Sea, and by that means must have been expos'd to all the Inconveniencies of the bad Season, which was not quite over ; besides, I might have been surpriz'd by the *English* Squadron, which I knew had Orders to follow me. In this case there was no likelihood for me to expect any Service from the Sea-men, it being altogether necessary to leave them on Board to work the Ships in bad Weather ; but then agen, ha-
ving

Expedition to Carthageria. 23

ving only the Land-Forces to re-embark, I might, upon any occasion, soon put my self into a posture of defence.

Then I imagin'd, that if instead of attacking *Carthageria*, I only attempted *Bocchica*, which defends the entrance into that vast Harbour, called the *Lagune* of *Carthageria*, and should carry that Fort, the rest would be easily acquired, by reason I might bring my Ships under the Protection of this Fort, and thereby make use of the Sea-men that might be then spar'd from the Ships, which would in some measure make up the want of Land-Forces.

However, this Design had its Difficulties likewise : For the passage which this Fort defends, is so narrow, and winding, that there's no sailing through it, but you must warp your Ships along by their Anchors and Cables ; now two Ships riding within, can prevent this work, and alone defend the entrance against the strongest Fleet : I could not imagine, but that the *Spaniards* would use that Precaution, in case the Galleons had been at *Carthageria*.

On the other hand, if I could make a Descent on any other part of the Island, at one end of which stands *Carthagena*, at the other *Boccachica*, I might probably surmount all Difficulties, by expeditiously landing of my Cannon ; with which crossing the Island, and raising of Batteries on the Banks of the *Tagon*, I knew very well, I could either sink, or force away any Ships that should be posted to defend the entrance : As to the Fort, I did no ways doubt the taking of it with the help of my Bombs, in spite of any Succours the Enemy might bring to it by Land.

Being once in possession of *Boccachica*, I had several Reasons for good hopes, in case the Galleons were not there, that I should, by the help of the Sea-men (which I might take when the Ships were secur'd) be enabled to attempt *Carthagena* ; and if the Galleons were there, then I purpos'd to attack them ; and in case they should resolve to sink themselves, then I should be able so to terrifie the place with my Bombs, that they would yield to a Contribution, that might re-imburse my Undertakers ; and from thence I could afterwards steer to some other Leeward place.

After

After I had duly weigh'd these Matters, I absolutely resolv'd upon sailing to *Carthageria*, and I publish'd my Resolution; which was applauded, and received with all the signs of Satisfaction from the Soldiers. *Du Casse* propos'd the sending away two Frigats of *Buccaniers*, to precede me, which should land in the Night near *Carthageria*, to take what Prisoners they could make, and carry them to *Sambee*, twelve Leagues to Windward of *Carthageria*, and there expect our coming. Capt. *Pierre*, and Capt. *Blou*, were instantly commanded to sail upon this Design; but instead of executing these Orders, the desire of pillaging, according to their usual Custom, engag'd them to chase some small Vessels they met, which they had not the Courage to board, after they had driven them aground; and this occasioned them to lose so much time, that without having been at *Carthageria*, they arrived after me at *Sambee*, where a sudden Gust from the North-East, called here a Breeze, had forc'd me to come to an Anchor, and wait for better Weather to appear before *Carthageria* in.

On

On the Thirteenth, the Wind being abated, we got under Sail, and directed our Course for *Carthagena*. The whole Fleet was compos'd of these Ships : Seven Frigats from Eight to Twenty four Guns, on board them about Six hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*. One hundred and ten Inhabitants of *S. Domingo*, One hundred and seventy Garrison Soldiers of the Coast, and One hundred and eighty Negroes ; were dispers'd on board the Men of War, and Flyboats belonging to the Squadron. This was all the assistance which I received from the Government of *St. Domingo*.

The *Pontchartrain*, and the *French* Frigate were join'd to us as before mentioned, the one having Forty Guns, and One hundred Men ; the other Twenty four Guns, and Sixty Men.

The Squadron was compos'd of Seven great Ships.

The *Scepter* carrying Eighty four Guns, and Six hundred and fifty Men, commanded by *Guillotin* : I was on board this Ship.

The

The *St. Lewis* of Sixty four Guns, and Four hundred and twenty Men, commanded by *Levy*, who acted as Vice-Admiral.

The *Fort* of Seventy Guns, and Four hundred and fifty Men, commanded by the Viscount *Coetlogon*, who serv'd as Rear-Admiral.

The *Vermandois*, *Apollo*, *Furieux*, and *St. Michael*, all four of Sixty Guns each, and Three hundred and fifty Men, were commanded by *Dubuisson*, *Gombaud*, *La Motte Michel*, and the Chevalier *de Marolles*.

The *Christ*, a Spanish-Prize, commanded by the Chevalier *de la Motte d'Heran*, of Two hundred and twenty Men, and Forty four Guns.

The *Avenant*, by the Chevalier *Francine*, Two hundred Men, and Thirty Guns.

The *Marin*, commanded by *St. Vandrille*, had One hundred and eighty Men, and Twenty eight Guns.

The

The *Eclatant*, Bomb-Vessel, commanded by *De Mons*, had Sixty Men.

The *Providence*-Brigantine, of Thirty Men, and Four Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier De L'Esconet*.

Two Flyboats.

Four Boats, call'd by the French *Traversier*, who had each of them one Gun, and a Mortar.

On board these Ships, and Vessels, were One hundred and ten Officers, Fifty five Guards Marine, Two thousand one hundred Sea-men, One thousand seven hundred and fifty Soldiers, effective Men.

Before I left the Road of *Irois*, or Cape *Tiburon*, which is the same place, I had regulated the Descent, and the Manner of employing our Forces.

The Captains of the Men of War, *viz.* those that effectually were so, (but not all those who commanded for such, as did several Galliot-Captains, and some Men of War Lieutenants) were to serve as General-Officers, dividing themselves according to their

Expedition to Carthagena. 29

their Seniority, to be alternately ashore and on board ; for it was absolutely necessary to have some of them always in Command on board the Ships. *Du Cassé* had the Command of all the *Buccaniers*, and Inhabitants of the Coast, whom I left to him, under their ancient Captains.

By Order of the Court, there was a State Major, compos'd of *Sorel*, Inspector-General of the Marine Troops of *Brittany*. The desire of serving in this Expedition, induc'd him likewise to take upon him the Function of Major-General, but taking place only as Captain : of *Thesut*, Major : of two Aid-Majors-General, who were the Chevaliers *Jaucomr*, and *De Pointis* : a Sub-Major-General *Beraudin* ; and some Guards Marine, as Sub-Majors :

Of *Du Tillent*, Commissary.

One principal Ingenier, and another. viz. *Canette* and *Tangey*, for whom were compos'd two Brigades of Officers, or Guards-Marine, as also some Voluntier-Soldiers, that were in some measure thought capable of serving as Ingeniers. The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, and *Coursy*, were the chief of these Brigades ; the Chevaliers *de Nesmond*, and *Pouillermont*, Enseignes ;

feignes ; *La Lande, du Ches,* and *Rochebonne*, Guards-Marine, chose to serve as Aids de Camps under me.

Six Battalions were compos'd of the Soldiers on board the King's Ships ; the first was a Body of Two hundred and fifty Grenadiers, drawn out of all the rest, commanded by *La Roche de Vigier*, Captain of a Frigate, but then serving as second Captain on board the *Scepter*, commanded, I say, by him, as Collonel, *le Chevalier de Vezins*, Lieutenant of a Man of War, as Lieutenant-Collonel ; *Vaujoux* serv'd as Major, *St. Lazare d' Ayde*, *Framine*, *Montrozier*, and *Vignancourt*, had the Command of the Five Companies that made this Battalion.

The Five Senior Lieutenants of Infantry Marine, commanded as Collonels in the Five other Battalions of Three hundred Men each ; who were the Chevalier *Marolles*, *le Chenau*, *de Bresme*, *Simonet* ; the Guards-Marine were divided among them to augment the number of Officers. Besides these, I made Detachments of Four hundred Seamen, under their own Officers, all arm'd with Scythes and Pistols ; upon occasion, these were to be commanded by
Lieute-

Expedition to Carthagera. 31

Lieutenants of Ships, that had no Companies, who were *de Vaulx*, *Longuejone*, *Carcavy*, *Siglas*, and *Sabrau*, these were to be reliev'd by Five Captains of Fireships that were on board our Squadron.

The One hundred and seventy Soldiers drawn out of the Garrisons on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, were in a separate Body, and commanded by *Beaumont*. The One hundred and ten Inhabitants, and the One hundred and eighty Negroes, made each of them another. The *Buccaniers* were all in one Troop.

The Plans, and Memoirs, which I had of several places, of whose Errors I have much reason to complain, were nevertheless true in one point : For they gave me a plain assurance, that if we did not seize at our arrival at *Carthagera*, upon a considerable Eminence, and a Church called *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, that commands the Avenues, all the Treasure would be carried off, the greatest part being in Gold and Emeraulds, easily to be transported up into the Country ; which the *Spaniards* would not fail to do, upon the approach of such a formidable Fleet.

To

To get possession of this Post, I resolv'd to land the *Buccaniers*, the Night after my coming to an Anchor, they being very proper for such an Attempt, as being accustomed to marching and subsisting in the Woods, where each of them carries his own Provisions, and lives upon what he kills; so I was inform'd at least: Thus, not being encumber'd with any Baggage, their March might be kept secret, their Irruption unexpected, and, in case of necessity, their Retreat secure, by ways unpassable to others. I had concerted with *Du Casse* all things relating to this Design, which he undertook to see executed: We agreed upon the Signals he should make me by Fires from the Hills, to acquaint me whether he wanted any assistance, or Vessels to re-imbark his Men; or upon taking of the Post, whether he was in a Condition of maintaining it, or not. On my part, I was to inform him by Signals from the Ships, of my Condition, and the Resolutions which various Accidents might oblige me to take.

Having concluded upon this Method of executing our Design, we arriv'd between *Carthagena*, and Point *Hicacos*, four Leagues
to

Expedition to Carthagena. 33

to the Eastward, where finding good Anchorage in a great Bay, which the Land makes by running out to the Southward, we came to an Anchor about Four a Clock, two Leagues from the City, on the same Day, being the Thirteenth. The Squadron was got ready in the Morning at *Sambee*, and I delivered all my Orders by Signals: By this diligence I was sure to make a secure Descent, it not being possible that an Enemy could be able to guard all the Shoar, or march down time enough to hinder our landing.

So soon as the Ships were come to an Anchor, I made the Signal for the Chauloups, (that were to land the *Buccaniers*) to go on board their Frigats, so soon as it was dark; and to them to be in a readiness for the Boats, altho' it was resolved they should not embark until Midnight, to the end they might be ashoar some Hours only before Day-light.

In the mean time, the *Fort*, the *Mutine*, and the Bomb-Vessel, according to their Orders, were advanc'd towards the City; the last near enough to bombard, and the other two to guard her. I expected, by thus employing of the Enemy with my
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Bombs, to divert them from taking other necessary Precautions.

When the *Buccaniers* were to be embark'd, in order to their landing, they did not behave themselves so heroically as *Du Casse* had boasted of them : For this separation from the King's Forces, afforded them a prospect of the dreadfulest Dangers ; they began to apprehend the want of Provisions in the Woods, where they were us'd to subsist many Days, when they were only to rob and cut Peoples Throats sleeping, whereas now they were to march against a People that stood on their Defence ; yet to take away one of their pretences that covered their fear, we delivered them Provision, and the Major-General, after much stirring, got them at last into the Boats.

All was in a readiness for the Descent, when I fortunately resolv'd to visit the Shoar ; for the most proper place of landing : One would not have thought, that in a great Bay, shelter'd from the Winds that usually Reign upon this Coast, where Ships find a good Anchorage, and the Sea calm, it should be impossible to get ashoar ; but scarce were

we

we come to it, when the Waves breaking upon the Rocks even with the Water, did but little miss of filling my Canoa quite full of Water at once: *Levy, Du Casse,* and *Tilleul,* were with me. We rowed down the Strand towards *Carthageria*, in hopes of finding some proper place; but there the Sea ran higher than it did from whence we came; and when we were fall'n so low, that it was not possible to proceed farther without engaging our selves among several little Lakes that from this part water all the Territory of *Carthageria*; our Canoe came a-thwart a Sea, that filled her half full of Water; and now, in all probability, our Enterprize, as yet not begun, was like to end in a Goal: But *Levy* leaping into the Water, and by his Example encouraging the Sea-men, that followed him, to use their utmost Efforts, we at length got our Canoa a-float, that had struck on the Rock, and deliver'd our selves from that imminent Danger. Our first Care was, by the other Canoas of the Majors, to dispatch Orders to the Chaloups, not to come near the Shoar; where, embarrass'd by the great number of People on board them, and being every way larger, drawing more Water, and not so well

provided with Rowers, as my Canoa was, their Ruine must have been inevitable.

We, were then, notwithstanding all our Draughts and Memoirs, oblig'd to agree, that *Carthagena* was inaccessible on this side: For if in so calm a Day, the Sea was so boisterous as we found it, what were we to expect in other Weather? In short, the stay we made in this Country, hath shewn us by Experience, as well as inform'd us by the Relations of the Inhabitants, that the Sea upon all this Coast, and in all Seasons, is a natural and invincible Rampart; and that *Carthagena* is approachable only by the Lake, which makes the Harbour.

I reflected with Concern on this disastrous Adventure; I foresaw, that in not being able to possess my self of that considerable Post of *Nastre Dame de la Pouppe*, I should afford the *Spaniards* an opportunity of several Days to carry off whatsoever they were desirous to save, by reason I could not be able to come at them, until I had taken the Fort of *Boccachica*.

Being

Being wholly bent upon *Bocachica*, the Fleet got into a readiness of sailing in the Morning on the Fourteenth. We design'd to pass so nigh the Walls of *Carthagena*, as to do them all the mischief my Guns could afford them; but notwithstanding my utmost care to provide all things necessary for every Vessel of the *Buccaniers*, who have the Reputation of knowing this Coast, we found them so very ignorant, and so much at a loss, that we durst not attempt any thing upon the small Informations that we could get from them; so we resolv'd to take the surest Precautions possible, by ordering the Chaloups to sound before us. The *Scepter* not finding Water enough, could not come within Shot of the Town; the *Lewis*, and the *Fort*, that drew less, even touch'd in several places. However, that did not hinder them from firing, until I made them a Signal to join the Fleet. The Enemy made no great Fire; yet we perceiv'd they had great Pieces, and good store of them: To our admiration, we observ'd, that *Carthagena* was inclos'd only on this side with Pallisades, and old Walls that were in many places fall'n down; whereupon we founded our Projects and

Hopes of, a lucky Event ; not knowing that Nature had sufficiently provided for the Security of this part , by the great Violence of the Sea that washes it : I touch'd twice, and came not this Night to an Anchor before *Boccachica*, being desirous first to inform my self of all the Soundings ; but came to an Anchor so soon as we found a proper depth. We understood afterwards, that the place we had been in all Day , was about eight Years since a Plain, where the People of *Carthagena* us'd to walk.

I sent away all the Chaloups, to sound the Coast, even up to the Fort. I order'd St. *Vandrille*, on board the *Marine*, to an Anchor over-against the entrance, that so he might prevent any Boats from carrying of Advice, or Silver, to *Porto Bello*. All the Officers and Pilots, that had been out to sound, assur'd me, that there was every where Water enough , even to Twenty Fathom, and near the Shoar ; and the Coast jetting out to the Southward, had form'd near the Fort, a sort of a Haven secure from the Violences of the Sea, which ran too high every-where else for a Descent, and a small neck of Land, or Promontory , did likewise protect us from
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the Fire of the Fort ; whereupon it was resolv'd to come to an Anchor there, by Break of Day, next Morning, being the Fifteenth , and to take our Anchoring Births , according to the Disposition of the place.

All the Fleet were at Anchor on the Fifteenth at Noon : I immediately dispatch'd away Major *Thesut* , to observe what part of the Shoar was most proper for a Descent. Upon his return I made the Signal for landing, and order'd *Du Casse* to take eighty Negroes, that were on board the *Furieux* , to embark with them on board the *Pereagoes* , which are a very light Vessel, and therefore are in no danger of stranding ; with these I order'd him to make up towards *Carthagena* , and to come very near the Shoar, in two or three places, without endeavouring to land, but only to draw out the Enemies, if there were any, and by that means oblige them to discover what they were ; and if there was no appearance of any, he was to inform me of it by a Signal : The Woods lie close to the Sea-shoar, where the *Spaniards* might have kept themselves conceal'd, and discharg'd upon us without appearing, which oblig'd

me to this precaution ; but *Du Casse* finding no such matter, landed with his Negroes, and hoisted the white Flag upon a Rock. This acquainted me that he was landed : The Chaloups immediately made to shoar, and the Descent was made without any opposition. The Negroes were forthwith employed with their Bills and Hatchets, to make a way through the Wood to the Lake, on the other side of the Island, where we design'd to encamp, and make our Approaches to the Fort, the Ground on this side, towards the open Sea, not being so proper ; besides, it was necessary to cut off their Communication with *Carthagera* by Land. The Island, which is but narrow at the Point where the Fort is situated, is but a good quarter of a League from the Sea to the Lake, at the place our Negroes were cutting, within half Cannon-shot of the Fort, from which we were covered by the Woods : The Way was made in a very little time, so that all our Troops were ranged quite cross the Island, making places of Arms in the several Paths of the Wood that lead to *Carthagera* ; by this means we were soon posted, and the Places of Arms, or *Corps de Garde*, were near enough to speak to each other.

While

While we were thus settling our selves a-shoar, the *Lewis* made a little more out, and began to Cannonade the Fort; sometime afterwards, the *Fort Man of War* doing the same, as likewise the *Scepter*, that follow'd at a little distance, the Battery began to be very warm, the Bomb-Galliot, and the *Traverser* with one Mortar, having taken their Stations, played their parts very well, which continued until Night. The Enemy only made a very slow Fire, which did not occasion us much damage, only our Yards and Rigging suffer'd a little, and three Men were kill'd or wounded.

In our approach to the Lake, we had a little crook'd the Way leading towards the Fort, to the end we might fall directly in with a little Plain, which (the People of St. *Domingo* brought hither for our Guides, told us) lay between the Lake, the Wood, and the Fort; so we came out at the foot of a rising Ground, that was high and large enough to cover us, and from whence we had the liberty of examining the Fort, which is not above Musquet-shot from it: We lodg'd our selves here, expecting the approach

proach of Night, to examine the Ditch, and where it was proper, to open the Trenches, by cutting down a part of the Wood, which we perceiv'd to be much nearer to the Fort, than the Way we had cut : So soon as it was dark, the Major-General, and *Canette*, slipt away to make the Tour of the place, upon the Bank of the Ditch ; which they did without being discover'd : *Levy*, *Faucourt*, and I, being without design insensibly advanc'd into the Wood, until we perceiv'd our selves near to the Ditch, we were desirous to examine it. The obscurity, and great stillness of the Night, favour'd our Attempt ; we met the Major-General and *Canette* who had been round ; our Meeting happen'd to occasion some little Noise, upon which the Sentinels fir'd, and we return'd, sounding the Ground ; which being proper for the Work, confirm'd us in the Opinion of opening the Trench in that part of the Wood which I said was nearest to the Fort ; besides, a little Fen being between the Eminency and the Fort, did deprive us of the conveniency of carrying on our Work on that side.

Upon

Upon the Sixteenth in the Morning, we began to make our Fascines, Gabions, and to get our Artillery on Shoar, which we wanted, one of the Mortars being brought a-shoar in the Night, was ready to fire, and another was getting ready, when one of those great *Pereagoes*, that are much us'd in the *West-Indies*, and big enough to carry Sixty Men, came gently sailing on to *Boccachica*, under the Shoar, which she did not imagine to be in our possession ; but being perceiv'd by our Grenadiers there, they resolutely took their opportunity, without waiting for Orders, and fir'd so thick into her, that at the first Discharge, they kill'd and wounded fifteen or sixteen Men, seven or eight more being perfectly scar'd, leap'd into the Water, and were drown'd, the rest throwing themselves into the bottom of the *Pereagoe* ; she lay floating on the Water, until some of our Negroes launching off a little Boat, that was by chance there, made to her, and brought her ashore. Besides the kill'd and wounded, there were Eight and twenty Men in her, among whom were two *Franciscan* Friars, one of which had receiv'd a small hurt in his Arm : By these Prisoners I was inform'd,

form'd, that the Galleons were at *Porto Bello*, of which I had no certain Account since my coming out. They had been there ever since the end of *October*, and were expected every moment at *Carthage-na*; their stay at *Porto Bello* having been contrary to all the Rules of Commerce, much longer than usual.

I made use of one of these Friars, to represent unto the Governour, (whom I design'd to summon) the insignificancy of his Defence, against such unequal Forces, I multiplied them in the Eyes of the Friar, by drawing forth all the Troops in the Wood, and whilst they amus'd him, I made some of them file off through the By-ways, and advance themselves beyond those he had seen; the Ammunition, and Train of Artillery, were shewed him; insomuch, that if the Matter had depended on him only, the Fort would have been surrender'd at that very instant: However, he made use of all his Eloquence to the Governour; to whom he carried from me very honourable Proposals. He answer'd, by my Drummer, That he was not reduc'd to the Condition of Capitulating; but when he was, he would be willing

Expedition to Carthagena. 45

to accept of the Offers I had made him : Moreover, he charg'd the *Franciscan*, in particular, with many Civilities to me.

The *Fort* Man of War return'd to her Station to batter the Fort ; but the Bullets that flew over it, falling into a Quarter of the Camp, that we design'd not to quit, I sent her Orders to retire, and to the *Scepter*, and *S. Lewis*, going to the same work, to return to their first Births. The Mortars on Board, and those on Shoar, began to Fire at the same time.

About two in the Afternoon, two greater *Pereagoes* than that in the Morning, came before the Wind, to land Succours at the Fort, which the Governor of *Carthagena* had been solicited to send thither, upon finding their mistake, in believing that my Expedition was upon the Galleons, and to land at *Porto Bello* ; and that I durst not engage upon an Enterprize of that moment, as was the attacking of *Carthagena* ; but came thither only to see if the Galleons were there.

The

The Adventure and Example of the Morning, inspir'd some of the *Buccaniers* with a Resolution of doing what the Grenadiers had done : These last *Pereagoes* having pass'd something wide from the Post of the last, drew to the Shoar only when they were pretty near the Fort ; these *Buccaniers*, at the head of whom may be about twenty Men, that deserve to be distinguish'd for their Courage, my intention being very far from comprehending them in the Descriptions which I make of the others ; these *Buccaniers*, I say, having possess'd themselves of some little Houses on the Lake-side, made a very great Fire upon the *Pereagoes* ; the Noise brought the Major-General, *Canette*, *Gougou*, and some other Officers to them, who encouraging this small number of *Buccaniers* accidentally join'd by some Soldiers, led them towards the Fort, to prevent the *Pereagoes* that kept on their way, from landing the Forces on Board them. The other *Buccaniers*, by the Example of the first, having taken Arms, ran to the Shoar, where they made an extraordinary Fire ; but the place being within Musket-shot of the Fort, the Enemy began to fire upon them ;

Expedition to Carthagena. 47

them ; and the *Buccaniers*, who are not us'd to engage where there is any danger, made the most of their Heels, to bring themselves under shelter : I met them in their way, and finding that words were of no weight with them, I lighted on a Cudgel, and with that forc'd them to return to the Post they had abandon'd. *Du Casse* was surpriz'd at this way of carrying Men on, yet conceal'd, in silence, the vexation he conceiv'd at the Action. In this space of time, the *Pereagoes*, terrified with the Discharge they had sustain'd, were tack'd about, and on their return towards *Carthagena* : The Major-General taking the advantage of this opportunity, posted himself with the small Troop that followed him, at the foot of the Counterscarp, which the blindness of the *Spaniards* had left so, as it cover'd us from the Fire of the Ramparts. *Canette*, *Le Cher*, *Marin*, and *Gougon*, were wounded in this Action ; fifteen Soldiers and *Buccaniers* were killed and wounded. *La Mothe*, Ensign of the *Buccaniers*, pitch'd his Colours, yet neither his Signal, nor my Blows, were sufficiently powerful to make his Companions advance. I then imagin'd, that by sustaining those that were at the foot of
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the Counterscarp, I might make an advantageous Business of this accidental Attempt : So I abandon'd the *Buccaniers* to their Cowardize, and order'd two Companies of Grenadiers, with the Battalion of *de la Chenau* that was at hand, to march : *Levy* put himself at their head, and to shorten the way, march'd up to his Belly through the Water, and so possess'd himself likewise of the foot of the Counterscarp ; at this instant *Du Casse* receiv'd a Contusion on the Thigh, by a Cannon-Ball falling among a heap of Stones. The Major-General did not forget to send me word, that the Post he had taken might be kept, by causing the Troops to march, altho' at the hazard of some Men, by reason of the Fire which they were to sustain in going to it ; but those Men were got to him, before his Messenger had spoke to me, so there was no time for deliberation, it being necessary to maintain this Lodgement ; because the Counterscarp almost environing the place, through the fault of not being cut sloping at the foot, afforded shelter from the Fire of the Ramparts, and was capable of receiving a greater number of Men than mine. I sent Major *Thesut* to bring up the Battalions,

Expedition to Carthagera. 49

lions, as likewise the Ladders, with all imaginable expedition, to be at Hand, in case there should be occasion for them; and as the Battalions came up, so they defil'd off to the foot of the Counterscarp. The Besieg'd fir'd very briskly, but being oblig'd to expose their whole Bodies, that their Shot might not be made too high, and being easily reach'd in that posture, they soon bethought themselves of firing from behind their Defences, and thereby occasion'd us but very little damage.

Du Buiffon Varenne, was at the place of our descent with two Battalions, who hearing the Noise of our Fire, imagin'd we were attacking the place, altho' he knew not in what manner; he made through the Wood, into the place where the two Mortars were rais'd, and by the way of the little Plain, which is but a quarter so long as that in the Wood which makes a Circle, he brought us that Supply at the Minute the Besieg'd call'd out, They were willing to capitulate, if they might have good Quarter. I answer'd them, That there was good Quarter for them; but that was all: And, that, if they did not immediately throw

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their

their Arms into the Ditch, for an instance of their Sincerity to surrender, I would continue the setting up of my Ladders; after which, they were not to hope for Quarter. Several of them obeyed, and we saw the Harquebuzes in the Air, falling into the Ditch. By this being assur'd of their intention, I confirm'd the first assurance of fair Quarter, with my farther Promises of good usage: I requir'd to have the Gate open'd at that instant, my Impatience not being satisfied with their calling from the place that they were actually at work upon clearing of it: For I was apprehensive, that some alteration might happen by the delay. But to appease me, they let down a Man by a Cord, who came to assure me from the Governour, That they us'd the utmost diligence to deliver themselves into my Hands. In a moment of time the Gate was open'd, and old *Sanchez Ximenez*, who had been Governour for above Twenty five Years, came and delivered the Keys into my possession. I gave him all the Comfort I could, in the good usage I shewed him, by giving him, and his Officers, their Liberties, and among the rest to, the President of the Isle of *St. Marthas*, who hap-

happen'd to be at that time in the Fort, and to be wounded : Moreover, I permitted the Governour to carry away whatsoever belong'd to him ; and the next Day he retir'd, with his Domesticks and Slaves, to his Country-Houses, on the other side of the Lake.

This piece of Success did not stand me in above Fifty Men, therein comprehending all the several Bodies, as Grenadiers, Soldiers, Inhabitants of the Coasts, Negroes, and *Buccaniers*. The Garrison being Prisoners of War, were confin'd. *La Roche-du Vigier*, that commanded the Grenadiers, I made Governour ; to whom, besides Cannoniers, and other necessary Workmen, I left the Soldiers of the Coast for his Garrison. By this I put him into a Condition of defending me, if occasion were. The Enemies Garrison did consist of about Three hundred Men, whereof Two hundred and Ten remain'd fit for Service, the rest were either kill'd or wounded in the Bombardment, Cannonading, and Attack.

On the Seventeenth we re-embark'd all that we had on Shoar, towards the

main Sea, and began to work our selves into the Lake, but the careful transporting of our Ammunition and Provision being of the highest consequence, and could only be counted safe in the Lake, I resolv'd not to stir, until they were got in: For which Reason I was oblig'd to defer our March until the next Day, to the second Fort, that was about two Leagues and a half from us, called *St. Croix*; the taking of which was not less necessary to enable our Ships to come within Cannon-shot of *Carthagena*, than that of *Boccachica*, to facilitate the entrance into the Lake.

My intention all along was to cut off the Avenues of *Carthagena*, so soon as it was possible, by securing the Post of *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*; to which purpose, I had in the Morning sent away the Brigantin, *Traversiers*, and Chaloups, necessary for the carrying of the *Buccaniers*, which I order'd upon this Expedition, for the Reasons before-mentioned. *Du Casse* fearing that a long troublesome March might bring his Contusion into a Wound, refus'd to charge himself with the Command: His Major, that had formerly serv'd with those Pyrates,

Expedition to Carthagena. 53

rates, and was at present in a considerable Employ, ought to have had this Command; but he likewise distrusted his Health: Thus there was only *Dannon* left, who was no ways agreeable to them, as well by reason of his Misfortune, in not having acquir'd on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, either the Esteem or Love of any Body; as likewise, upon the account of his being Lieutenant-Governour in a place where they never make any stay; so they could not be perswaded, that he had any Right to command them: However, it was necessary I should make use of him, for want of another. I dispos'd all things for it, deliver'd him his Instructions, and even made most of them embark in my Presence; yet no sooner was my Back turn'd, but he came running with Tears in his Eyes, to demand Justice upon their Insolence, for pressing them to go into the Boats, that attended on them, it was murmur'd about, That they did not know him, neither would they obey him: In short, they refus'd to embark; whereupon he took one of them by the Arm, to push him into the Canoa, which the Fellow had the Impudence to return, very insolently. I forthwith

order'd the Delinquent to be shew'd to me, and upon the spot, I had him tied to a Tree, a Confessor was called, a Cloth bound over his Eyes, and the Musketers were marching to do Justice on him; when *Dannon*, whom 'twas very necessary for me to reconcile to the *Buccaniers*, having before-hand instructed him what he was to do, threw himself at my Feet, protesting, he would not rise, until I had bestow'd Mercy on the unfortunate Offender. I seem'd to be very difficult, upon the Account of good Order; but at length, at the pressing Desires of the Company, I gave him his Life. And much trouble there was, to revive the Condemn'd; who could not believe, that it was possible for him to be alive again, after the Ceremony of binding his Eyes.

Being desirous to put an end to this Affair, I went to the nearest Vessel, where Captain *Pierre* was embark'd; who was, as I had been inform'd, the first Beginner of the Mutiny; but, in the time of bringing the Fellow to Execution, he had consider'd the Matter, and was march'd on Board with his *Buccaniers*; I commanded him to be immediately

Expedition to Carthagena. 55

diately dragg'd out, and put into my Canoa, and ordered him to prepare to die : But there appearing from the rest of the Company, many signs of Submission, and Acclamations of, *God save the King*, I at last resolv'd to forgive the Offence ; yet, withal, threatening to decimate them, upon the least Complaint that *Dannon* should make of their misbehaviour.

This Usage, so different from the Ca-jolements they had been accustom'd to receive, from those that made use of them ; did me very good Service, during the whole time they were under me, so as to make 'em tolerably obedient to *Dannon* ; yet not to the exposing themselves to the Dangers of Fire and Sword : For having without trouble possess'd themselves of *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, that was utterly abandon'd by the Enemy ; and believing, that upon their approach to the little Fort of *S. Lazare*, between *La Pouppe*, and *Carthagena*, they might happen to frighten the Garrison to retire from thence also, he propos'd this Attempt to them ; but it was to no purpose : And in a Council where he did not preside, they resolv'd to at-

tend my coming, encamp'd in the Wood, at the foot of the Fort ; where they got about Thirty Hours before me.

On the Seventeenth, all the Ships being drawn into Order, at the entrance into the Lake, they pass'd it in the Morning of the Eighteenth. The *Diep* Fly-boat touch'd ; the great many Banks of Sand in the Lake, which our Pilots did not know, was the occasion we did not advance very much that Day : The *Apollo* ran a-ground this Day ; but these Banks being only Sand and Ouse, mingled with a very fine Turf, there was no fear of danger.

In the mean time, being sure of having the Ships suddenly follow me, we began our March by Break of Day ; and for Security against all Hazards, took two Days Provision with us for the Forces, which was dignified with the Title of the Land-Army : This, after the departure of the Six hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*, that were gone to the other side, and the Garrison of One hundred and seventy Men remaining behind us in the Fort of *Boccachica*, might consist of about One thousand seven hundred
Men,

Expedition to Carthageria. 57

Men, not including some Sea-men, One hundred and ten Inhabitants of St. Domingo form'd into Companies, Fifteen or Twenty Voluntiers, that follow'd *Du Caffé*, and One hundred and eighty Negroes.

I was oblig'd to defer making use of my Sea-men, until the Ships were arriv'd, and had taken their Stations : The smallness of our Forces was no discouragement to us. The Marines especially, being highly pleas'd with the execution of a Business, in which they had never before been employ'd, did apply themselves with all imaginable Diligence and Good-will, every one of them chearfully undertaking whatsoever was appointed to him.

After we had cross'd the Mountains covered with Woods, which the Negroes examin'd before us, we met with the Plain, that is here and there cover'd with Shrub-wood, and at Noon came to an old ruin'd Castle, within half a Mile of St. *Croix* : Here we rested the Troops ; and besides the Pits, that are there easily made in the Sand, and afford indifferent good Water, we had
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the good Fortune to find a great Cistern that was a mighty Conveniency to us. After this Refreshment, the Vicount *de Coetlogon*, whose Day it was, march'd on with a part of the Grenadiers, to observe how we might encamp as near as possible to the Fort, and to seize upon the Passages that are in those Marshes, that encompass the Fort ; in the mean time we continu'd our March, not being able to leave the Shoar, because the Lake approaching, in divers places, within a few paces of the Sea, permits you the choice of that way only, until we came down from the Mountains, below which the Island is pretty spacious. This way having brought us within Cannon-shot of the Bastion of *Carthagena*, called *S. Domingo*, we struck short off to the right, by a way that the Marsh leaves cross the low Woods, called *Maugliers*, that grow in the Water.

In this place I was informed by the Officers that *Coetlogon* sent me, that he was at the foot of Fort *S. Croix*, which the Enemy had abandon'd, having carried off their Cannon, and set fire to the Lodgements that were there ; likewise, that some part of the Forces might en-
camp

Expedition to Carthagera. 59

camp upon a Spot of Ground about the Fort, but that the rest must be left in the way worn near the Fort by a Rill of Water running from the neighbouring Marshes; that the bottom was good, and the Water not above Knee-deep, which would no ways prevent a communication.

Levy, the Major-General, and my self, with some Grenadiers, were in the mean time so near advanc'd to *Carthagera*, as easily to observe, that the place could not be attack'd on one side, the Marshes and Sea not leaving there a Sandy space of about twenty Fathom over, which was expos'd to the fire of three Bastions; besides, there was no sinking two Foot deep, without being in Water. The great Number of People that we saw on the Ramparts, who quietly look'd on us, made me desirous to summon them; the Governour was there, and answer'd my Drum, That he was ready to defend himself better than we could attack him.

We could not exactly discern the foot of the Rampart; and being desirous to know, if there was a Ditch, I order'd

De

60 *Monsieur De Pointi's*

De Bresme, whose Battalion was encamp'd at the least distance from it, to examine at Night how it was ; which he perform'd very well, and assur'd me, That the Water of the Marsh went up even to the foot of the Walls, and that there was only a small dry space of Sand, that environ'd part of the great Bastion called *S. Domingo*, and that on the other side, the Sea came up to the foot of this Bastion. This Report made us conclude, not to attack *Carthagena* in this place.

The next Day, being the Nineteenth, so soon as it was Day, we cross'd the Lake, with much diligence : *Pally*, that commanded the Negroes, whom I had order'd to seek out a convenient place of descent, having assur'd me, that he had found out two, which came almost up to the great way ; I immediately pass'd over with *Levy*, *Sorel*, and the Grenadiers of the Battalion of *de la Chenau*, being conducted by some Prisoners, that *Pally* had taken on Board of a *Pereagoe*, which had endeavour'd to get from *Carthagena* : These Prisoners, in hopes of being the better treated, had offer'd themselves for our Guides ; and, indeed, led us very nigh to the foot of the Eminency,

nency, upon which Fort St. *Lazare* is situated. At this place we found the *Buccaniers*, (*Daunou* had left a Detachment of 'em to guard *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*) *Coetlogon*, *La Motte Michel*, and *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had left at S. *Croix*, to bring away the rest of the Troops, as the Chaloups came to them; insomuch, that we were all got together by Break of Day next Morning, leaving only a Sergeant, and Twenty Men, in Fort S. *Croix*, with Orders to keep the Gate always shut, that and the Situation being sufficient to prevent the Enemy from repossessing themselves of it.

We had in the Evening of the Nineteenth Day, view'd all the places adjacent to St. *Lazare*, and perceiv'd, that without getting it into our possession, it would not be possible to advance a step towards *Carthagena*, by reason it commands all the Avenues: We beheld, with much trouble, the time it must cost us, if we attack'd it in Form, and brought our Artillery to batter it. This whole little Mountain is defended with a natural Glacis, very steep, cover'd with Shrubwood, which runs up to the foot of the Wall, where we suppos'd was a
Ditch,

Ditch; the Wood being extreamly thick, and very difficult to pass, prevented us from going to it ; upon which I order'd the Chevalier *de Pointis*, to seek out two Negroes to examine the Matter ; but understanding to what purpose I sent for them, he betook himself to the Wood, at the same time he sent them to me ; which he cross'd in the best manner he could, until he took hold of the very Wall ; the Negroes went almost as fast as he, and then came to assure me, that the Ground was level to the foot of the Fort : The Chevalier *de Pointis* quietly heard their Report, which being exactly true, he said not a word of what he had done. In all this occasion, there was only a Grenadier kill'd upon our return.

Upon the next Day, being the Twentieth, *Levy*, *Coetlogon*, and *Sorel*, having got up to an Eminency, that was above all the others, sent to me, to come to them ; from whence they shewed me, that the Fort did not take up (as we had imagin'd) all the Eminency, which extended a good distance farther to the right ; and, that if we could make a Way, through the Wood, to that height, we

Expedition to Carthagera. 63

we might afterwards go upon a level from thence to the foot of the Fort, all the way, being cover'd with Woods; and that we could fix a Miner to it, if the Garrison should resolve not to quit it. Upon this, I order'd the Major-General to call to Arms, and having call'd the Negroes to me at the moment I came down, I put them to work upon cutting of a Way, to facilitate the March of the Troops; this was carried on half way up the Hill, where dividing the Way, to encompass the Fort, *Levy* marched to the right, *Coetlogon* to the left, and the Major-General visited every place as his Presence was requisite. This Work being found shorter than what we had expected, we arriv'd at the foot of the Fort in a very little time, where we made the greatest Fire that was possible for us to make, at the same time calling out for the Ladders; not that we expected to use them, but to terrifie the Garrison; however, I sent for the Miner in good earnest.

During which time, the Enemy made no great Fire, by reason we made our Shot upon them, so soon as they expos'd their Bodies to view. They had for a
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good while perceiv'd, that we were piercing through the Wood ; and we understood, by the sounding of a Bell, how much every step we made increas'd their trouble. This Bell was a Signal to the City, to acquaint them with their Condition ; at first it struck only now and then, keeping sounding more and more by degrees, until at length it rung full out, when their fear gave them occasion to think they would be attack'd on all sides ; which had effectually happen'd, if they had not chose rather to retire, for the Quarter towards the Gate was then free to them.

In this manner we possess'd our selves of the Fort : In the place there was only nine kill'd and wounded. On our side, the Chevalier *de Vezins*, that commanded the Grenadiers, since *La Roche du Vigier* was made Governour of *Boccachica*, was kill'd, with five Grenadiers ; *Simmonet*, Colonel of a Battalion, dangerously hurt in the Head, and St. *Lazare*, Captain of Grenadiers, wounded in the Thigh.

The taking of St. *Lazare*, giving us the liberty to open our selves, we cross'd the
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Expedition to Carthagera. 65

the way, and advanc'd our Camp to the Chappel of St. *Lazare* Hospital, which is a great breadth; being cover'd on one side, with several little Canals, that have a communication with the Lake; and on the other, by a high thick Wall, which besides the Trees that cover'd us, did prevent the Bastions of the City from discerning the place we possess'd; the kill'd and wounded that we had, were only by chance Balls: In the mean time, this little Chappel gave us the opportunity of going cover'd within a small Musket-shot of the place, which is not above that distance from it.

Whilst we were thus employ'd, the Ships, by the care of *Du Buiffon*, were come nearer to the Town; insomuch, that in the Morning, a Bomb-Galliot with a Mortar, and a *Traversier*, were moor'd, and began to fire. In the Evening the *Traversier* was oblig'd to retire, being shot through with several Balls, and ready to sink; *Bois Pinault*, Lieutenant of the Artillery, commanded her; *De Mons* was in the Galliot, which likewise suffer'd so much, that she was also oblig'd to retire a little; besides, she had a great many kill'd on Board her; but the strength of

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these

these Vessels enabling them to endure a great deal of Fire, she began again in the Morning of the Twenty first of the same Month.

My chief-Ingenier was wounded, and ill ; whereby I was oblig'd to execute that Function. The Officers of the Marine, which I had form'd into Brigades, had only their own Readiness to enable them to execute every thing, which could not supply the want of Practice and Judgment. I had, by good Luck, at the first, agreed with the Major-General, where to begin the Opening and Advancement of the Trenches. I had, moreover, design'd the Batteries of Cannons and Mortars, and given Orders for the things necessary to the Works ; by which means, the Accident that happen'd to me a few Hours afterwards, did not much interrupt our Proceedings : In the mean time, all Hands were at work , the Soldiers upon Fascines and Gabions, the Sea-men upon landing the Artillery ; in the drawing of which, the Hundred and eighty Negroes were a mighty assistance to us : For as to the *Buccaniers*, we were never able to make the least use of them ; and the share which they ought to

Expedition to Carthageria. 67

to have perform'd of the Work, falling upon others, who were by this means over-wrought, did not a little contribute to the causing of those Distempers, which so lamentably reign'd among us afterwards.

Our small number, and the great many things to be done, forc'd us to keep the Troops with their Arms in one hand, and their Working-Tools in the other, the Soldiers were at one and the same time, both on the Guard, and working; the nearness of the Woods, on whose sides we were encamp'd, were a great conveniency to us: For when we drew out our Troops, they left their Arms upon that spot, and went to the Wood with their Tools; and upon the first Beat of Drum, they quitted their Tools, and running to their Arms, were immediately in a Condition of marching; the Battalion of Grenadiers, was ever at the Head of the Camp, to sustain whatsoever might be presented; and that was sufficient, by reason the disposition of the Ground was such, that the Camp was on all parts inaccessible, but on that only towards the City.

Nor were they less diligent on Board the Fleet : *Du Buiffon* caus'd the *Scepter* to advance, commanded by *Guilotin*, the *Saint Lewis* by *Sabran*, and the *Vermandois*, aboard which he commanded ; with these Ships he made up towards the City, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* had purposely sunk a *Gal- leon* to render the passage difficult : We were oblig'd to leave on Board these Ships that were to fight, a great many Sea-men to work the Guns ; which diminish'd the number of those employ'd upon the Dis- imbarkment, and transporting of the Ar- tillery that was necessary to us on Shoar : It is hardly to be imagin'd, how so small a parcel of our Men was able, in six Days to disembark, draw half a League upon Land, and bring into a State of Battery, Twenty seven of the greatest Cannon we used, five Mortars, and all the Equipage necessary to the execution of both the one and the other, besides the Provisions that we were oblig'd to bring to the Camp ; but it is true, that *Du Tillent* being charg'd with this Care, attended it with such application, that making use of the Sea-men only at certain Intervals, he constantly kept our Magazines fill'd with Provision and Ammunition, with-
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Expedition to Carthagera. 69

out ever interrupting any other Business.

Our Affairs being in this State, and having, moreover, rais'd a Mortar to prevent the Enemy from going on with a Work, that we perceiv'd they had begun upon a Platform over the Gate : We having twice neglected to throw up a Breast-work that I had mark'd out ; and fearing, least at the third time there might not be something farther necessary to be done, that might occasion a delay, I resolv'd to continue my Presence there until it was perfected ; my stay inconsiderately brought a great many Officers, this number of People being moreover remarkable for their Cloaths, drew upon us the Enemies Fire, and particularly that of their Cannon, with Hail-shot, by which I was wounded ; my hurt was more painful than dangerous, yet I was very fearful that this Accident might discourage our Men, which indeed was too apparent at first : Moreover, I was apprehensive, least the Officers, whom I had by good Fortune maintain'd in a perfect Union hitherto, should not continue the same, which would have been detrimental to our Design : I resolv'd there-

fore, to struggle with the Pain which I felt ; insomuch, that after the Third Day I was carried into every part that I could have visited in another Condition : But during that interval, I committed all things that I could not inspect, to the Care of *Levy* ; who certainly acquitted himself to a degree above all manner of Praise ; indefatigable, full of Expedients and Contrivances for the Work ; neglectful of his Rest, and his Meals ; he was every-where, and forwarded every thing, with an incredible vigour.

The Vicount *de Coetlogon*, was to have commanded the Artillery ; but I was over-joyed to understand, that his Inclinations were rather to enter, with the rest, into the general Service ; this gave me an opportunity of choosing several Persons, to manage the Artillery, who did their Duty with more expedition than would have been possible for any single Man to have done : So he had the Guard only of the Battery of five Cannons of Twelve and Eighteen Pounders, which he rais'd at the foot of Fort St. *Lazare* ; in which Fort we had got mounted Seven Pieces of Twelve, Eight, and Six, that terribly shatter'd the Bastions of the place.

Expedition to Carthagena. 71

place. *Mornay*, Commander of the *Pont-chartrain*, was in the Fort with his Ship's Company ; the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran*, took upon him the Care of a great Battery of nine Guns, that was likewise upon the same Eminency with the Fort, but more to the right than the first : *La Motte Michel*, had the Charge of that we called, *The Royal Battery*, consisting of six Pieces of Thirty six, and Twenty four, planted Sixty Fathoms distant from the Gate, and designed to make the Breach : *Gombaud* play'd the Mortars, which he had been exercis'd in from his Youth, and doubtless never any did better execution than these ; for one would have thought the Bombs had been plac'd by Hand, in the places where they were design'd to fall. These Mortars were plac'd between the Batteries of the Cannon, in such manner, that as soon as they began to play, the place was on fire in several parts at once ; the Galliot was at work on her side, but the Bombs she spent the first Days, were of little or no effect.

The Twenty first, Twenty second, Twenty third, and Twenty fourth, were employ'd in transporting the Cannon,

and getting together the things necessary ; the *Vermandois* only was advanc'd to Cannonade the Town ; but I being inform'd, that she being alone, did solely bear the whole Fire of a Bastion, that could conveniently reach her ; I order'd her to retire, and to wait for the other Ships that were to go on with her ; we were likewise constrain'd to bring away two small Cannons that we had rais'd in the Chappel of St. *Lazare*, without any other Parapet than the Wall, upon which the Enemy making an extraordinary Fire, render'd this Post untenable, we brought off the Cannon with the loss of eight or ten Men.

Canette, altho' wounded, return'd to the Camp on this Day, being the Twenty fourth ; and I continu'd to regulate, upon my Bed, with him, what was necessary to be done. In the Evening of the same Day, he open'd the Trench a little below the Door of the Chappel of St. *Lazare*, where we were under cover, being the same place I had agreed upon with the Major-General. *Levy*, whose Day it was, did not Command, by reason he was entrusted with the General Management of the Siege in my stead :
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Expedition to Carthagena. 73

Coetlogon mounted the Guard in the Trench, which was advanc'd the same Night Seventy two Fathoms, being as far as was necessary to attack the City-Gate, when the Breach should be perfectly made. The following Days the Captains took their turns, according to their places, and mounted every Twenty four Hours; the Batteries were likewise brought into a condition for Service, and on the Twenty eighth begun to play, our Fire, until then, being only from some little Pieces that were mounted in haste. The Enemies Fire, which had always been very moderate, grew now something slower; for the Bombs, and the Cannon of the Fort, and the Hill, had dismounted several of their Pieces; yet they troubled us less with their Sallies, for they did not so much as attempt to make one in the whole Siege.

At this time, a Bark sent from *Porto Bello*, by the General of the Galleons, to the Governour of *Carthagena*, not knowing what pass'd in this place, came quietly into *Bocachica*, and fell into the hands of the *Avenant*, and *Marin*, that I had left there, who took her with their Canoes: The Letters on Board her,
were

were in Answer to those which the Governour of *Carthagena* had sent to the General, informing him, that the *French Fleet* was upon the Coast ; they contain'd a particular of the Precautions that were us'd to secure the Galleons, *viz.* By bringing them to the very lower end of the Port, and defending the approach to them by an Estocade of Piles, and Platforms of Cannon : They added farther, That part of the Silver which they had, was already brought into the Castles ; for that they had suspended their Resolutions of sending it back to *Panama*, until they had received some farther Information of our Designs ; which the General press'd the Governour to send him immediately, either by the same Bark, or a second, that was to come away in Four and twenty Hours after the first : But what most acquainted us with the miserable Condition they were in, was the earnest Desires of the General, in the most pressing Terms, to send him fifty Pullets, and some Quintals of white Biskit.

Altho' the Batteries, as I said, were not in a Condition to fire, until the Twenty eighth, yet that design'd to make the Breach, was play'd so successfully,
by

Expedition to Carthagena. 75

by *La Motte Michel*, *Siglas*, *Longjume*, and some other Officers under him, assisted by the Gunner of the *Scepter*, that on the Twenty ninth in the Morning, the Wall seem'd to totter ; our Fire had not been discontinued, because of the Night, but it increas'd so much in the Day, that in the Evening the Front of the Rampart being quite fall'n down, *Levy*, and *Sorel*, who would lose no time, imagin'd the Breach was passable, and came to propose the Assault to me. I was resolv'd neither to lose, nor neglect a Minute ; but likewise determin'd not to hazard any thing upon ill Grounds : I order'd to Arms, and dispos'd all things for an Assault ; yet resolving not to engage before I judg'd it feasible : In short, Night being come, whilst we prepar'd our selves, the Chevalier *de Pointis* passing up to the Arm-pits in Water, over the little Marsh upon which the Causey, and the Bridge, that communicates with the City, are built, went to view the Breach. He assur'd me, That the Wall was indeed very much ruin'd ; but that it was not possible, as yet, to mount it without Ladders.

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The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, Captain of a Fire-ship, who was at the Head of the Brigade of Ingeniers, that I had sent to observe the Condition of the wooden Bridge, (which the Enemy had endeavour'd to blow up, by running under it a *Pereagoe* fill'd with Powder) brought me word, That the Bridge had suffer'd ; yet might not be altogether unserviceable to us : And, that the Gate beyond it, which we imagin'd was beat down by the Cannon, was strongly terrass'd on the inside ; of this he was positively certain, by reason he had put his Hand into the Holes which the Cannon had made, and therefore there was no hopes of carrying the place by that ; but that the Breach must be pass'd, to the foot of which he could not get from the place where he was ; and that it was, by all that he could perceive in the Night, but little advanc'd.

These two Officers were too well known, to doubt of their having been where they said they were : Moreover, *Canette* told me, he was not quite ready ; that all the Gabions, and Fascines, which he had got together, were spent ; and, that

Expedition to Carthagera. 77

that if by chance we should find so much resistance as to be oblig'd to lodge upon the Breach, we should not be able to do it, our Earth-sacks being at the Lake-side, for want of Hands to bring them; that there were two little Flanks unruin'd, that would destroy a great many Men in the Attack; all these Reasons engag'd me to dismiss the Troops from their Duty, and we agreed not to make the Assault until the first of the next Month; in the mean time, to employ both Night and Day in the finishing of the Breach, and to get together all such things as would be necessary upon that occasion.

Upon the Twenty ninth, *Du Buiffon* being advanc'd with the three Ships, *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, and *Vermandois*, within a small Cannon-shot of the City, they fir'd upon it with all their Artillery; but seeing it only reach'd the tops of the Houses, and my Business being to have two Bastions silenc'd that annoy'd my Camp, I sent to let them know, That when they were retired in the Evening, they should wait new Orders before they begun again.

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In the mean time, we prepar'd our selves for the Business of the next Day ; the Order of Attack I had regulated with the Major-General, in this manner :

A Serjeant, with ten Grenadiers, should begin, sustained by the Company of Grenadiers on Guard, there being always one at the Head of the Trench ; the whole Body of Grenadiers were likewise to advance to the Head of it, to sustain the first, and to precede a Battalion, in whose Rear should be *Canette*, the *Chevalier de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, *Courisy*, and One hundred and fifty Workmen, with the Sub-Ingeniers, and all necessary Implements ; after whom should follow the same number of *Buccaniers* and Negroes. The Head of the Trench was twenty Fathom-distant from the little Ravelin, that in some sort covers the Bridge, whose Wall was so low, that it might have been pass'd, if it had not been easier to pass through a single Barrier that was there, and these Troops fill'd all the Trench, unto the Gate of the Chappel : All the rest of the Battalions were posted according to their Ranks,

Expedition to Carthagena. 79

Ranks, within the Close of the Hospital, to march into the Trench as fast as the first Troops advanc'd out of it, to the Attack, and to follow 'em up, and sustain 'em. I recommended to Major *Thesut*, in particular, the good Order which these Battalions were to observe, to the end, that too much Precipitation might not cause Confusion in their March, nor too much Slowness occasion as much Inconveniency by any Interval being left open.

All things were thus regulated for the next Day, when *Du Casse*, whose Day it was, came to tell me, about Three a Clock, That he saw the Breach from the Head of the Trench, plainly enough to assure me, that it was passable ; that he believ'd the Enemies were at work behind, in throwing up a Retrenchment. A delay, in this case, would have been so very inconvenient to me, by reason of the time I should have given the Enemies, to finish their Work, that I forthwith resolv'd to attack the Enemies at that instant, provided I found the Breach to be as it was describ'd to me. I was the more inclin'd to believe it, by being inform'd. on all Hands, in the Morning,
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with the good Effects of *the Royal Battery*, which at every Discharge brought prodigious Ruines from the Wall ; and, at the worst, I could not be more asham'd in retiring, if things should not appear in the Condition reported, than I had been the Night before.

I immediately sent for *Levy*, the Major-General, *Canette*, and some other Officers, that were gone to *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, to discover from that place the Condition of the Town ; but hearing a general Alarm beaten, they presently return'd ; and being inform'd what was to be done, every one of them ran to give the necessary Orders to what belong'd to him. The Troops at work in the Woods, being called by the Drums, instantly came to their Arms, and put themselves into order ; there was only a small Body in the Trench, that were not exactly plac'd where they were to be ; but the Major-General dispos'd of them with all possible Expedition : At which time *Nesmond*, *Poullermont*, *La Linde*, *Du Che*, and *Rochebonne*, who (as I said before) chose rather to serve as my *Aids de Camps*, than to be employ'd in any other Service, not knowing but that the Troops were
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Expedition to Carthageria. 81

in perfect order, came to acquaint me, That every thing was ready, and that they waited for my Orders to march : I gave it, imagining like the rest, that all the Wall was fall'n.

The Order was immediately carried by my *Aids de Camp* ; who having all undertaken to deliver it, took that occasion to run to the head of the Trench, *Du Tillent* only, that could not be any where else, was with me ; *Du Casse* was on his Day in the Trench ; but *Levy* being the eldest of all, and this Action being regarded as a General Affair, by reason all were employed in it, put himself at the Head, and gave the Motion to the Troops to begin, at the moment he receiv'd the Order ; which was as suddenly executed, as it was speedily carried.

What ought to have been a great Advantage, had like to have caus'd a great Inconveniency ; the Officers. notwithstanding the Remonstrances that had been made them, upon the necessity of each of them being at his Post, to see the Troops perform their Duty ; carried on by their Courage, the greatest part of them advanced before the Troops, and assaulted
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the Breach with Sword in Hand, without observing how they were follow'd ; and the Troops, unprovided of Leaders, did indeed march on, but slower than the Safety of their Officers requir'd, who remain'd for a considerable time expos'd upon the Breach which they had gain'd. We were all deceiv'd in our Reckoning, for it was the steepest way imaginable : The Grenadiers, who were order'd not to fire, could not abstain from it, when they came to be expos'd out of the Trench, and to suffer the Fire of the Ramparts ; but the time they employ'd to Re-charge, detaining them in the way between the Trench and the Breach, was the reason of their Officers being alone at the top : *Levy* repair'd the inconveniency of this Accident so soon as it was possible, by hastening on the Troops, as likewise by his Words and his Actions. In the mean time, the Chevalier de *Pointis*, who had first mounted, was in an instant joyn'd by *Gougon*, *Faucourt*, and *Marolles*, whose Battalion was on the Trench-Guard ; *Daye*, *Vignancourt*, *Montrosier*, *Du Rol- lon*, *Vanjoux*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Fouilleuse*, and my *Aids de Camp* : They endeavour'd to maintain themselves, notwithstanding all the Efforts of the Enemy,

Expedition to Carthageria. 83

my, who were attack'd at the time they least expected it; yet not being dismayed, they attempted to drive us off with Sword and Pike. *Marolles*, and *Du Rol- lon*, were already mortally wounded, and upon the Ground; *Fonilleuse* had his Leg broke, *Gougon*, *Montrosier*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Daye*, and *Moussac*, were all wounded; some shot, others hurt with Pikes; some of them had several Wounds, as *Montrosier*, and *Vaujoux*; when at length *Levy*, and the Grenadiers, came to their assistance, and repuls'd the Enemy; who rallying nevertheless at the end of the Streets, were several times charg'd before they could be driven off. *Du Casse*, not so nimble as the rest, altho' one of the first at the foot of the Breach, maugre all his Good-will, had so much trouble to climb it, that he was out of Breath by that time he got to the top, where he thought he should never recover his Wind. He was follow'd by fifteen or twenty Voluntiers, Inhabitants of the Coast, who did very good Service; for firing upon such of the Enemies as were yet upon the Ramparts, behind two little Flankers that fir'd upon the Bridge, and very much annoy'd our Troops; they at length oblig'd them to

follow those that were driven from the Platform, where the Breach ended ; the Major-General, who at the bottom of the Breach was wounded by a Musket-Ball in the Neck, follow'd by *Baraudin*, one of his Aids, and *Francin*, Captain of Grenadiers with his Arm broken, notwithstanding mounted the Breach together ; but the Captain's strength failing, so soon as he was up, he was forc'd to be brought off , for the same reason the Major-General was not able to make a much longer stay.

All the Troops defiling in the mean time one after another, I found my self at last rid of all Uneasiness for the Success of an Action, that may, with Modesty, be term'd very bold, and very extraordinary, for Seafaring Men.

A Party of the Negroes of *Pally*, who conducted them, in defiling off to the Ramparts on the left, push'd the Enemy from Bastion to Bastion, unto the Causey that divides this part of the City, particularly called *Hihimani*, from the other call'd by the general Name of *Carthagena* ; but the *Buccaniers* to exempt themselves from the Attack of the Breach, had consulted

Expedition to Carthagera. 85

sulted the Matter upon the Bridge; and the little Causey of *Hibimani*, and resolv'd to line the Hedge over-against the Ramparts, where they made an extraordinary Fire, not perceiving the part they chose out of fear, was much more dangerous than that they endeavour'd to avoid : But by good Fortune for them, the Enemy was driven from off those Ramparts, and those *Indian* Heroes adventur'd to enter, when they thought the Business was pretty well at an end ; yet were they a little mistaken in this Account : For the Enemy, after having stood firm at all the Corners of the Streets, were at length driven to the Causey of *Hibimani*, towards *Carthagera*, into which they designed to retreat ; but the Governour, who perhaps fear'd, that upon opening the Gates we might enter Pell-mell with his People, plainly told them, That he would not let them in, until they had attack'd us in *Hibimani* : So after the loss of about 800 Men, urg'd by necessity, and possibly the Wine they had drunk, infusing fresh Courage into them ; they got together in a Croud, and with a great Cry came and charg'd us at the Head of the great Street, which ends at the Causey : We had just begun to cast up a Retrenchment there, and the Troops

not having time to bring themselves into Order, surpriz'd with this Attack, mov'd a little backwards, to cover themselves with the Houses of the Streets which cross'd that : But while *Levy*, and the Officers, brought them into order, which was instantly done, *Vignancourt*, the Chevalier *de Pointis*, *Gougon*, and *Jaucourt*, with a small number of Grenadiers, sustain'd this impetuous Attack ; but the Troops being brought back to the Charge, made a very great slaughter of the Enemies ; above 150 were found the next Day upon the Causey, pierc'd with Bayonets, besides those that went off wounded : In this Charge the Vicount *de Coetlogon* was wounded with a Musket-Ball in the Shoulder, who was come hither from the Battery, accompanied by *De la Motte Michel*, and *De la Motte d'Heran* ; his Wound did not at first appear to be considerable, but by weakning of him, it contributed to his Death, caus'd by a malignant Fever ; and here the Chevalier *de Pointis*, after having pass'd through so many Dangers, to which he expos'd himself, received the Wound he died of ; the Marquis *Du Boury* was at this time likewise hurt in his Face, *St. Amant* on the Side, and many other Officers received Contusions,

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The Enemy being drove back again were received by a little Port into *Carthageria* ; we applied our selves in *Hihimani*, to making of Retrenchments at all the Avenues, to secure us from Surprizes, and to permit our Troops to pass the Night quietly, in the convenient Lodgings of a handsome City ; the Fire of the Enemies Cannon kill'd some Men in this Work, that were commanded by the Chevalier *de la Ferriere*, *du Crest*, and *Coursy*, under the direction of *Canette*, about Ten at Night all was in good order,

In this Action I lost about sixty Men, and had some more than that number wounded , without comprehending the Officers before-mentioned.

It was resolv'd to rest the Troops, the next Day being the first of *May*, and to work only upon the opening of the Gate, and repairing of the Bridge for the passage of the great Cannon, with which we design'd to beat down the Rampart we had to pass, before we could enter into the other part of the City. *Canette* went in the Morning early, to view the places of Battery that were to be rais'd, and having

shew'd them to me in the Evening, I found them so near the Wall, that I did not doubt making a very considerable Breach in a very little time ; this whole Causey, and that part of the Marsh which divides *Carthagera*, are not a Musket-shot over.

This Day I sent on Board the *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, and the *Vermandois*, a part of the Detachment of Sea-men, call'd Scythemen, by reason of the small Scythes fix'd upon Staves, which they had for their Arms ; I order'd these Ships to endeavour again the next Day, to ruine the Defences of a Bastion that could hurt us more than the others. About Three a Clock, on the Second, they began to Cannonade ; in the mean time we put all things into a readiness, towards the bringing of the great Cannon into *Hibimani* ; this Cannonading continu'd until Six ; when at the sight of four white Flags flying, two on *Hibimani* side, and the others towards the Sea, I order'd the Ships to forbear firing, until I knew the Intentions of the Besieg'd. They told *Du Casse*, who by the means of a little *Spanish*, run himself into all things, That they were willing to capitulate upon honourable Terms. I sent them word, That before I enter'd
upon

Expedition to Carthagena. 89

upon it, I expected Hostages that very moment, without giving any other Assurance than my Parole, to return them the next Day, in case we did not agree upon Terms. This hard Condition was accepted ; which plainly shewed me, that the Enemies were straiten'd. In short, the Precedent of *Hibimani* terrified them, and the Bombs permitted them no manner of rest ; so they brought me two of the most considerable Men amongst them. At this instant I received Advice from two places of 1000, or 1200 Men, being upon their March to throw themselves into *Carthagena* : An *Indian* was the first that brought me this Account ; which was afterwards confirmed to me, by a Letter from a Lieutenant at *Boccachica* ; who seeking for fresh Provisions in the Country, had been besieged in one of the Houses of Don *Sanchez Ximenez*, defended by his People against a small Detachment of that Body on their March. The *Indian* said, That he had been among the Troops ; who knowing that we possess'd the common High-way, did design to go round the great Lake, and passing afterwards through By-ways into the little Lakes that lie about *Carthagena*, to go on a long the Sea-side, and get into the City by the Bastions of
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St. Catherine. I immediately order'd a-shoar all the Scythe-men, and Sea-men, that could possibly be spar'd, who were also provided with Arms; these were set to guard the Batteries, for all the Artillery was as yet there. I detach'd *Du Casse* with 500 *Buccaniers*, and a Battalion of 300 Soldiers, to stop the passage of these Succours; he posted himself amongst the little Lakes, where the Enemies would be oblig'd to come; and the advantage of the place wherein he was posted, enabled him to have given a very good Account of them. The next Day I sent *Dannon* with a less number, being inform'd it would be sufficient to repel the Succours, in case it should be attempted; but they did not appear, neither did I ever know the Reasons of it.

In the mean time we were employed upon the Capitulation. *Du Casse*, ever an importunate Advocate for the *Spaniards*, continually tormented me, to mitigate the Conditions I impos'd upon them; but being not only charg'd with the support of the Honour due to His Majesty's Arms, but having likewise my Undertakers Interests to manage, I stood firm to my Demands, altho' an infinite number
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Expedition to Carthageria. 91

of Reasons might have occasion'd me to be more impatient than any Body else, to have this Affair determin'd. At length I propos'd to the Governour, the honourable Articles of passing out through the Breach, with all those carrying Arms, Drums beating, to take four Pieces of Cannon ; and as to the rest, it was agreed, That all the Silver, without Exception, or Reserve, in favour of whomsoever it might be, should belong to me ; that the Effects of all such as went out, or were absent, of whatsoever Nature the said Effects were, should devolve to me ; that such of the Inhabitants as would continue in the place, excepting their Plate, should enjoy all their Possessions and Priviledges, and for the future be regarded as the King's Subjects, being they were so by Conquest : And farther, that all the Churches and Convents should be preserv'd.

This Matter agreed on, I demanded until such time as the Governour march'd out, which could not be in some Days, that they should deliver me up one of the Gates ; which they did, and I order'd the Grenadiers to it. I had regulated what every Man, according to his
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Condition, was to carry out with him in Silver for their Subsistence ; to which, that I might not be impos'd upon, I had added this Condition, That I reserv'd to my self the liberty of searching the Men and Baggage at the Gate. The Governor sent to desire I would permit, out of Courtesie, (which was the Expression) the principal Officers, and some other considerable Persons that I permitted to follow him, the double of what was stipulated. This amounted unto 2000 Crowns a Head ; but they being a small number, I readily acquiesc'd to it, and was convinc'd by the Fervency of their Acknowledgments, that it was really necessary to them.

It was of great consequence to me, that those who were allow'd to retire where they pleas'd, after the Garrison was march'd out, should remain until they were oblig'd to reveal what Sums they had in their Houses ; therefore I was very-exact in my Measures, that no Body might escape : In the mean time, several Officers went freely up and down the City ; and *Du Casse*, whom I had declar'd Governour, that they might believe I design'd to keep the City, took upon him to deliver to
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some People Certificates, that were not Passports, yet had some resemblance to them, by which those People pass'd the Gates, the Officers on the Guard believing it was my Order. I do believe he had no ill Intention in it, and I did attribute that manner of acting to the kindness he ever affected to shew to the *Spaniards*; yet common Report did not forbear saying, that he got very considerable Sums; which I did not believe. However, I would not have it thought, that I tolerated his Conduct; therefore I forbid him the continuance of it: And this Order so much displeas'd him, that he never came afterwards to me.

The Governour delayed his departure all that he could; but at length I acquainted him, That he must positively march out upon the Sixth, and that on the same Day I would enter at the Head of the Troops; which was accordingly executed. The Count *Uguez de los Rios*, follow'd with his Garrison, being listed Men, to the number of about 2800, march'd out through a Lane of our Soldiers and Sea-men, (whom I had order'd on Shoar to enlarge the number) *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants of the Coast, and Negroes. We
two

two were upon our Horses, and having saluted me with his Sword, after some Expressions of Civility, he continu'd his way with the City-Colours, and two of the four Cannon allowed him, not having Equipage convenient for the exporting of the others ; even these were the smallest, and drawn by Men.

These People were narrowly search'd as they came out ; but when I was inform'd of their Number, which was almost equal to ours ; and perceiving that this Search would bring the Night upon us, before we could dispatch them, I was afraid, lest the danger of losing a little Money, should occasion some disorder when it was dark ; so I sent my Orders to the Gates, to hasten their March, without delaying of it by a Search, which produc'd little ; and the Garrison all marched out before Sun-set. It was not without a great deal of trouble, that I continued upon my Horse, to receive the Salute of the Governour ; but that being pass'd, I was oblig'd through the great pain of my Wound, to get into my Chair, wherein I was us'd to be carried ; in this Condition, and in the midst of the Guards Marine, who were cloath'd alike,

Expedition to Carthagena. 95

alike, I went (preceded by a Battalion of Grenadiers) to take possession of the City.

I was well assur'd there was Silver in *Carthagena*; but the difficulty was how to get it: The worst that could happen to those in possession of it, was the loss of it, when we had discover'd it; it was therefore necessary to search all the Houses: But by whom could it be done? With what Surety, that the best part should not remain undiscover'd? The number of Officers was not great enough, to disperse them into all the necessary places; and if I would not have left any thing, it must have requir'd me above six Months time. In this perplexity I bethought my self of this Expedient: I publicly declar'd, and order'd it to be set up in the principal places, That I would give the Tenth to the Proprietors, of whatsoever they honestly brought me; and a Tenth to them that should inform me, of any Persons that did not declare their Effects. To these Promises I join'd my Threats, of punishing them for formal Disobedience.

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The hopes of preserving a part of what was otherwise all in danger to be lost ; the fear of Neighbours, and ill Friends, who at the same time had the opportunity of profiting and being troublesome, induc'd them all to be ingenuous in the matter ; which was done with so much forwardness, that *Tillenul*, who was charg'd with the Treasure, was not able to receive and weigh the Silver fast enough.

The Convents only were of the Opinion, that they were exempted from this Search, under the Article of the Capitulation, that they should be preserv'd ; by this means they quietly kept both their own Money, and what was confided to them. I order'd that Article to be explain'd to them, to the end they might know, that the preservation of the Convents, consisted, in not permitting them to be destroy'd ; but as to the Money, I had in formal Terms, reserv'd that to my self : Otherwise they might have got together all the Riches of the City into their Houses, to have depriv'd me of it. Notwithstanding these Reasons, several of them continu'd so obstinate, and among the
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Expedition to Carthage. 97

the rest, Father *Grenelli* a Jesuit., the Guardian, and Procurator of the *Cordeliers*, that I was forc'd to have them secur'd, and to threaten them with worse usage. The Rector of the Jesuits obey'd, and brought about Twenty thousand Crowns in Gold, that he found in the Chamber of Father *Grenelli*, and about as much from the whole House besides; and then desired, that I would order the House to be every-where visited, by which Conduct he engag'd me to release his Religious. So soon as the *Cordeliers* perceiv'd that the *Buccaniers* were brought, who have a particular Talent at discovering hidden Treasures, they protested, they were ready to reveal all they had, so the *Buccaniers* retired; but when they were gone, the Reverend Fathers fell into their first Silence; in short, I resolv'd to charge the Captains with the Care of searching the Religious Houses, to the end the Presence of these principal Officers might preserve all necessary Order and Reservedness. This Search produc'd enough to make amends for the trouble it gave us; and in regard to the Churches, prevented even the appearance of Profanation. After I had severely commanded 'em not to touch any of the sacred Vessels, or any thing appertaining to the Sacrifice, I order'd our

Chaplains to gather up what was only for the Decoration of the Churches. Father Paul, a *Dominican*, who hath (by I know not what Authority) given himself a sort of a Mission among the *Buccaniers*; and usually living upon the Coast, had followed the Army, and put himself among our Chaplains; aided them with a mighty Zeal to execute my Orders, which seem'd to him sufficiently just, in relation to the other Convents; but when he was to go to the *Dominicans*, supported with the Credit of *Du Cassé*, he thought to have prevented this Visit; but seeing there was no great Notice taken first of his Threats, nor afterwards of his Prayers, was then transported with horreur at the profanation, and came running to denounce upon me, from God Almighty, the Anger of Heaven; yet they did not forbear going on with the Business.

Altho' the Silver was brought in great abundance to the Contadore; that is, the Town-House, where I had my Quarters; yet we did not receive, by much, what we might have expected. We had scarce got to the Coast of *St. Martha*, which I had been told was a Desert, but they were acquainted with it at *Carthagena*; and being likewise inform'd by three several Expresses

Expedition to Carthagenà. 99

presses from the King of Spain, of all Particulars, they were amply acquainted with my Project, my Forces, and, in a manner, the time I should get thither; so they begun to bestir themselves upon that very Alarm: All the Women, of any Quality, with their Jewels, the Nuns, and what was worst of all, 120 Mules laden with Gold, went out in four-Days time; they retir'd to *Monpos*, a Town forty Leagues from thence; and altho' we had not miscarried in our first Descent, to attempt *Nostre Dame de la Pompe*, yet we could not have got thither until the greatest part of those Treasures was gone. However, the Honour which his Majesty's Arms acquir'd in this occasion, besides near upon Eight or Nine Millions that could not escape us, comforted us for the loss of the rest.

There is, in the Year, one intemperate Season, that never misses this part of the *Indian Coast*, and it seem'd, as if the great Rains, and Thunder, which are the Fore-runners of it, had, for a time desisted, to afford us the Opportunity of taking *Carthagenà*; for no sooner were we in possession of it, but the Air became infected: Eight hundred Men, in six Days time, were seiz'd with a contagious Distemper,

of whom the greatest part died ; and, in a little time, we were scarce able to receive into the Hospital, which was with much Expedition established, the great Number that was brought from all parts, every Day were we informed of some melancholy Example ; all Ideas of Triumphs and Treasures, were effac'd, by those of Sickness and Mortality. In short, if the Distemper had continued with this Rigour, I must have beheld my inevitable Ruine in the fairest Port of the World, and no Enemy near me ; not only have lost the Fruits of all our Labours, but likewise the Squadron entrusted to me.

There was a Report spread about, the Author of it I did not find out until some Days afterwards, That I could not carry back the King's Ships, without making use of the *Buccaniers* ; who being accusom'd to these Climates, were no more infected with the Unhealthiness of the Air, than the Natives that are very rarely touch'd with it. In this Condition, *Du Casse*, that conceal'd his Spite at *Hibimani*, where he was retired, sent to me, by his Major, a Writing, insinuating, That his Colony was in danger of being destroyed, in case the Enemies should attempt a Descent there, which
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Expedition to Carthagera. - P 61

was no ways to be doubted ; that he demanded of me the Forces I had drawn from thence ; and in case of refusal, he thereby made me responsible for all Accidents. I answered by the same way, That his Colony was as much recommended to me, as it had been to him ; that concurring to his Sentiments, as to that Matter, I did consent, whatsoever Inconveniency might attend the weakning of my self by his departure, that he might return with three parts of his *Buccaniers*, all the Inhabitants, and part of the Negroes ; and, that what I kept with me, would therefore be too inconsiderable for the Coast to suffer by it. This Answer, which I designed with sincerity, happen'd to be contrary to what he expected, he did not imagine I could have taken that Resolution, thinking, by the Report spread about, to have made me so well comprehend the occasion I should have for the *Buccaniers*, as to have determin'd my self against their return ; but seeing my firmness, he began to be more compliant, and better dispos'd, without speaking of going away ; and thereby plainly shewed us, what sort of Interest detained him at *Carthagera*. As the Silver was brought in, so it was immediately carried on Board the King's Ships ; upon which he em-

ploy'd *Dannon* to acquaint me, That the *Buccaniers* were disgusted, that I did not call some of them to be Witnesses of what pass'd at the *Contadore*; and propos'd to have me admit some Body from them. I found so much Insolence in this Proposition, that I suspected from whence it proceeded: I told *Dannon*, That if he happen'd to charge himself with any more such Commissions, I would make him repent it. I was at that instant inform'd, That some of the *Buccaniers*, contrary to my Prohibition of pillaging Houses, had broke through the Roof of a House, and stole some Merchandizes: I took my Guards, and went through all the Quarters of the City, resolv'd to make an Example of those who fell into my Hands; but they were all retired to the Posts assigned them, where they received all the Threats I made them with a most profound Submission: Moreover, I was not so ill serv'd by my Spies, as not to be inform'd, that the seditious Discourses they sometimes held, upon the Silver being carried on Board the King's Ships, was inspir'd into them, by People wholly abandon'd to their own Interest, who took all Opportunities to express their own Thoughts with the Tongues of the *Buccaniers*.

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I was not so much a Stranger to the *Buccaniers* Courage, as to apprehend any manner of Attempt from that part ; but a Rumour being underhand whisper'd, that they had a mind to pillage the *Con-tadore*, to secure the share they pretended to of the Booty ; I was apprehensive, least they might force me to punish them so, that I should not be able to expect any farther Service from them, and I might possibly have occasion for their assistance on Board the King's Ships, in my return to *France*. Upon this I proceeded upon a Method which seem'd most likely to satisfy them, without engaging me to an unbecoming Condescension : I liberally recompens'd such of the *Buccaniers* as were wounded, and gave more to the lam'd ; there being so few of the one, or the other, that I could not thereby much prejudice the Interests of the Armament ; I order'd very considerable Gratifications to their Captains, and some others that had distinguish'd themselves ; I thought by the kindness I shew'd to *Du Casse*, and his Adherents, which were so excessive, that I am asham'd to own it ; I thought, I say, to have engag'd them to have made no farther Pretensions ; but I was surpriz'd to find, that by his Cal-

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culation, of the eight Millions, he reckon'd two of them belong'd to the *Buccaniers*; and of these two Millions, he esteem'd himself sure of one; for he shares with them as Captain-General, as first Captain of each Frigate, as Proprietor of the Frigats of which he lends some to them, and lets them have others belonging to the King, which with divers Pretexts he detains upon the Coasts, at exorbitant Interest. When I was made acquainted with the Particulars, I resolv'd with my Authority and Diligence to extricate my self out of this Affair: But this Diligence was the difficult Matter, a great part of the Equipage necessary in a Siege, which we had brought from the Fleet, was yet ahoar, the Distempers depriv'd me of half my Men, and I had scarce got on Board half of the Silver. The Brass Cannons of *Carthagena* were yet on the Ramparts; I entreated the *Buccaniers* to undertake this Work, which they refus'd; and I was inform'd, they had not only resolv'd not to work, but likewise to make neither Watch or Ward, until they were put into possession of their share of the Booty. I shew'd no Concern at this time, but prevailing by Dint of Money, upon the small Number I had in a Condition of working, to use their utmost

Expedition to Carthagea. 105

most Efforts, I got on Board my Squadron all the Cannon of *Carthagea*, all that remain'd of what was brought on Shoar; and part of the Bastions being already thrown down, on the 25th of *May* the Powder was put to the other Mines; I re-embark'd all my Troops, and my self, leaving *DuCasse*, his Officers, and *Buccaniers*, in the City; I acquainted both the one and the other, That if they pillag'd the least of the Houses I had mark'd, I would instantly fire their Frigates: They were too well laden, to suffer them to be expos'd to the Effects of my Threats, for having resolv'd not to bring any Merchandizes on Board the King's Ships, that I might be in a better Condition of Defence, I did permit the *Buccaniers* to take what belong'd not to the Inhabitants that remained in the Town. *DuCasse* wrote me word, That he would answer for the Obedience of the *Buccaniers*; adding withal, That if their Conduct was any ways to be blam'd, it proceeded from that Severity which was us'd to them, in not letting them know what they were to expect of the Booty. He might have said with more Truth, that it was his own Inquietude; and in reality, for some Days past, he had continually complain'd against the embarking of all the Silver; which,

which, he said, they could not tell how to get from the King's Ships: But yet, that he could not believe I would deprive him of any thing that so justly belong'd to him; having engag'd my self by Writing, to let the *Buccaniers* divide Man for Man, with the Seamen of the King's Ships. He had a great deal of Reason to insist upon this Writing; which was what I ever design'd to have observ'd; but when I understood, that by his Calculation, Two of the Eight Millions belong'd to him, I was surpriz'd at his meaning, believing him inform'd, as every Body else was, that what appertain'd to the Seamen of the King's Ships, and consequently to the *Buccaniers*, whom I had receiv'd upon these express'd Terms, was the Tenth of the First Million, and the Thirtieth of all the others; which his Majesty had been pleas'd to grant to the said Men on Board his Ships, to excite them to do well, and as a Recompence for their Services, as it was explain'd in the Conditions upon which his Majesty had consented to this Armament. At length, altho' *Du Tilleul* was Night and Day employ'd in the Receipt, and Embarking of the Silver, and the infinite Particulars appertaining to a great Squadron, had not the time to examine his
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Books, and consequently we could not exactly know what Silver there was; yet I so press'd him to make an Estimate of the whole Affair, to satisfie *Du Casse*, and his Cabal, what did belong to them, that he made out the Account, and signed it.

Upon the 29th I sent this Account to *Du Casse*; who, upon my reiterated Orders that I had sent him, was at last embark'd with his *Buccaniers*, and come down pretty near to the Fort of *Bocca-chica*; below which was the whole Squadron, except the *Scepter*, who through the Ignorance of the Pilots, was got between two Banks, upon which she had struck, and had not then got clear of them.

Du Casse was extreamly surpriz'd upon the reading of the Account, wherein he saw that his, and the *Buccaniers* Shares, amounted only to about 40000 Crowns. He reckon'd, that the whole would have been divided into Four equal Parts, and he being very near a Fourth of the Army, one of these Parts would consequently fall to his Share: But when he opened his Eyes, and saw that dividing Man for Man with the King's Ships, signified sharing of what appertain'd to the said Ships

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Companies, but not what appertain'd to the King, and the Armatures ; and when it appear'd, that the part of the Ships Companies consisted in the Tenth of the First Million, and the Thirtieth of the others ; of which the Fourth, that might belong to him, amounted only to 40000 Crowns, he fell into such a Rage, that not considering, that the leaving of his Government, without a Permission from Court, and upon a particular Interest, was by all manner of Laws, a Criminal Action ; yet he resolv'd to steer for *France* ; probably to demand Justice of himself, for being mistaken ; for as to any thing else, there cannot appear any pretence of Complaint. I must acknowledge, I was a long time before I could comprehend, that his Misapprehension should carry him so far, as to imagine, that the Credit of so many People was us'd, much Address employ'd, great Sums of Money collected and expended, and so long a Voyage undertaken, to give the Fourth of what it produced, to the Governour of *S. Domingo*, and a Troop of *Banditti* ; who without being at any Charge, and only for about six Weeks, at least the greatest part of them, idle Spectators of a great Action ; methinks Justice seems so repugnant to such

Expedition to Carthagea. 109

a Thought, that *Du Casse* cannot be excus'd entertaining it. By allowing a Subsistance, and Share, as I did to this Rabble, they received too much Honour, especially being joyn'd in the Division with the Companies of the King's Ships, whose continual Service, which they render to the King, and the State, so gloriously distinguish them from that base kind of Life that the others lead. Moreover, I do not see what Reply can be made to this Argument: If they are the King's Subjects, they were order'd to serve in this Enterprize, upon which his Majesty did not declare there should be any Distinction in favour of them; according to the Orders, the whole Strength of the Colony was to joyn the Forces I brought from *France*; and if they did not, I was to treat them as Rebels: And I was much in the wrong, to associate them to the Consideration that was promis'd to the King's faithful Subjects.

When I was getting under Sail, to come out of *Carthagea*, I was forc'd to set on fire the Bomb-Galliot, her Masts and Hulk were so shatter'd, that she was not in a Condition of going to Sea. I left also the *Providence*-Brigantine, (of whose Company there was not one Man capable of

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Service) with a *Buccanier*-Captain, until farther Order. The necessity I was in, of dismounting some Ship, to afford some assistance to the others, by dividing of her Company amongst them, had engag'd me to have fir'd the *Christ*-Ship, if *Du Casse*, to whom it was necessary I should give a Ship, to transport his People to the *French Cape*, had not been contented with that; which he arm'd as well as he could, to carry back the *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants, and Negroes, to *St. Domingo*.

On the 30th I was taken so very ill with the Distemper, that all that I could do, before I fell into a Condition that depriv'd me of my Intellect, was to acquaint *Levy*, that I committed the Care of the Squadron to him; and that he should steer his Course for *Cape Tiburon*, according to the Resolution he knew I had taken, to return from thence to *France*, without touching at *Petit Guaves*, where, as I was inform'd, the Air was not infected less than at *Carthagena*, by which the rest of our Men would have infallibly perish'd: From that time, I order'd nothing that pass'd; but the Account that follows, *Levy*, and the Major-General, gave me in Writing, as likewise by Word of Mouth.

Upon

Expedition to Carthage. 111

Upon the last of the Month of May, compleating the Ruine of the Fort of *Bocchica*, where we had some Days been at work, *Danon*, after many fruitless Attempts to speak with me, went to them, and acquainted them, That the *Buccaniers* being enrag'd at the small part I gave them of the Booty, had propos'd to board and plunder the *Scepter*; but that afterwards they were come to the Resolution, to return and plunder *Carthage*: And in reality, they perceiv'd at that Instant, the greatest part of their Frigates making into the Port, to sail to it: He said further, that they had pass'd under the Stern of the *Pontchartrain*, where *Du Casse* was on Board, to whom they had declar'd their Design; and, that he had exhorted them, not to commit such an Infraction of the Treaty upon which the City surrender'd; that he had likewise sent his Major to endeavour to dissuade them from it; that for his own part, it gave him so much trouble, that he desired only a hundred Sea-men, with which he should think himself strong enough to prevent their Designs on the City.

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All the Squadron was out at Sea, excepting the *Scepter*, who was something nearer to them; but in such a Condition by reason of the Distemper among the Sea-men, that we were very far from being able to make this Detachment; And altho' they might have been, yet how could it be possible, for a hundred Men, several Hours behind the *Buccaniers*, to prevent them from landing? The ridiculous and true Motive of this Proposition was palpably apparent; and accordingly *Levy*, and the Major-General, express'd their Opinion very freely to *Dannou*, whose Passion increas'd upon the Contempt they shew'd him. Yet *Levy*, desirous to apply all the Remedy that was to be us'd, made all the haste he could on Board the Frigate of *Macary*, being nearest the Fort, and longer in getting ready than the other, and by that able to be reach'd, and by his Authority he made her come to an Anchor again, believing, that afterwards she would not dare but to come out with the *Scepter*; yet this Ship being got through the passage, the Frigate was no longer afraid of being stopp'd by her Cannon; *Macary* having for some time follow'd us, suddenly tack'd about, and stood after the rest of his Com-

Expedition to Cartagena. 113

Companions, after having conferr'd with *Du Casse*, with whom he stay'd most part of the Night.

It looks as if *Du Casse* was entirely bereft of his Sense, in not more carefully covering his Connivance with the *Buccaniers*, in their violating of an Authentick Capitulation. The *Pontchartrain*, aboard which he was, and the *Malouin*-Frigate, that he could have commanded, were both of them among the *Buccaniers* Frigates, when they resolv'd upon this Course; Why did he not go after them, on all sides firing on them? Yet shooting so high, or so low, as not to do them any damage? He might have made it to have been believ'd, that he was no Accomplise in this Perfidiousness, and at the same time have justified to the World, that it was not by my Orders committed, being it would then have appear'd, that it was done by Mutiniers; whereas this scandalous Herd being, in appearance, under my Command, as formerly, I am become responsible for their Conduct to the K. of *Spain*; who might, if I should ever happen to fall into his Power, with some Justice, use me as a Breaker of Treaties: For what appears in sum of this Action, is a Capitulation manifestly broken by the
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King's Army. It was plain to us, *Du Casse* only thought of making the best of his way to get first of all into *France*, quitting the Squadron without leave, and even without the knowledge of any one, he brought to all the Sails of the *Pont-chartrain*, and we heard no more of him until the Fourth of *June*. The Squadron left *Baccachica* on the First, after having disingag'd themselves of the Misfortune which the *Scepter* and *Fort* had, in striking the first Night after their coming out, upon two Banks three Leagues from the Coast, whereby they were like to have been lost. The Squadron after this, stood for Cape *Tiburou*, when a Vessel from *Petit Guaves* brought us a *Pacquet*; he met *Du Casse*, to whom he had likewise deliver'd one, which was a Duplicate of that he had for me: They came from *Robert*, Intendant of the *Isles*, who had dispatch'd away a *Bark* to inform me, That upon the Twenty seventh of *April*, Thirteen *English Men of War*, of which Eight were Capital Ships, were arriv'd at *Barbadoes*, where there were several others; that it was not to be doubted but this was the Squadron, (as he had been inform'd from *France*) that the Enemies was to send after me, to prevent the Execution of my Designs; that this

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Expedition to Carthagera. 115

Squadron was not to make any stay at *Barbadoes*, upon which I was to take my Measures. The Day before I left *France*, I was advis'd, that to whatsoever place I went, Admiral *Nevil*, with Fifteen *English* Ships, was to follow me, so soon as they knew the Course I steer'd. These Informations concurring with each other, we did not doubt of the arrival of that Squadron in the *Indian* Seas, as likewise that we must meet them: For their Course, of consequence, if they were inform'd at *Jamaica* of our Success at *Carthagera*, as it was very probable, would be to expect us at *Cape Tiburon*, there not being any likelihood that we should return to *France*, without passing upon that Coast to take in fresh Provisions, and leave the Men I had taken from thence. I was then a little recovered from the Extremity of my Illness, and upon this News I held the first Council of this Expedition; there was no diversity of Opinions, all the Captains agreeing, that we ought to steer for the Gulf of the Streights of *Bahama*; that we ought to supply our want of Water, by the most extraordinary good Management of what we had; that there would be an opportunity of taking in more upon the Coast of *Accadia*, which was the most probable way of missing the Enemy, who

could not be gone to expect us there, knowing we had a more convenient passage upon many Accounts. Upon this Resolution we alter'd our Course that we were steering to *Tiburon*, for that of *Bahama*, which we continu'd until the Sixth. It may here be observ'd, how little one ought to depend upon the severest Reasons, when Fortune is in the Scale: The Course of Cape *Tiburon*, our Ruine, in appearance, was free of all Danger, the Enemy pass'd very wide of it; and the way of *Bahama*, so sure in our Reasoning, carried us into that between *Jamaica*, and *Carthagena*, which they then steer'd, and occasion'd us to fall into the midst of them in the Night, between the Sixth and the Seventh. Some Hours before Day, I was inform'd, that from time to time, they perceiv'd Fires made in a Ship behind us; this Signal not being to be made by any of ours, we began to believe, it was some advanc'd Frigate of the Enemies, who inform'd them by her Fires, that she followed us, and that by keeping after her, they could not lose us. There was then no other Resolution to be taken, than to wait for the Day; we did not know our situation, in relation to that of the Enemies, so by any other manner of working, we should have run
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Expedition to Carthagena. 117

the same Risque, to have fallen in with them, as to have steer'd clear of them. The first appearance of Day presented us with the Image of an inevitable and dismal Misfortune ; we at first reckon'd Twenty Sail, then Twenty five, a little afterwards Twenty nine, and among them a Ketch. Eight of these Ships seem'd to be of an equal force to the *Scepter*, Ten or Twelve others, with the *St. Lewis*, the *Furieux*, and our other Ships of that Rate, the rest with our Frigates from Thirty six to Forty four Guns ; half of this Fleet was to Windward of our Squadron, and wanted but little of Cannon-shot of us ; some others were exactly on our Lee ; and the rest, which were the great Ships before-mentioned, were in our Sterns, a little below us.

Our great Misfortune was not only to have Eight and twenty Ships against our Seven Ships, and Three Frigates ; but as an addition, our unfortunate Squadron was so strangely weaken'd by the Mortality, that she was rather a general Hospital for the rest of the Officers, and Seamen ; insomuch, that when we went to put our selves into a Condition of making some sort of a resistance, by the paleness of our Faces, and the weakness of our

Motion and Stirring, it look'd as if the Hospital of *Paris* was brought under Arms. To give an Idea of the Condition we were in, I need only say, that the other Ships were possibly in a much worse Condition than the *Scepter*, who out of her Complement of 700 Men, had not above 350 that were able to take Arms, or work our Artillery. What an alteration for me in particular ! My Expedition had acquir'd some Honour to the King's Arms, and would have produc'd considerable Advantages to my Armatures. The taking of *Carthagena* seem'd to have acquir'd me a pleasing Distinction ; and being enrich'd, I had, at my Return, a prospect of Glory and Pleasures ; all which now pass'd like a shadow ; and I had continually before my Eyes, the destruction of a flourishing Squadron, which I had the Honour to be entrusted with ; the Displeasure of the King and his Ministers, in the Circumstances of this Loss, which not only depriv'd His Majesty of so many Ships, but so much advantag'd his Enemies, and carried them those Riches, that were in a manner ready to have enter'd *France* ; the Grief of my Armatures, for whom all was lost by this unhappy Rencontre ; and my continual Despair in the Remainder of a Life, which after

Expedition to Carthagera. 119

a long Imprisonment, I must have pass'd in Obscurity, if the Report of my bad Fortune had not render'd me remarkable.

These were my Reflections, when having acquainted all my People, that we ought to die like Men of Honour, I had two occasions of being comforted; the first was, the Officers protesting to me, with an Air of Assurance, that the Ships should be defended, whilst any of them were living; and the Ships Company entered into the same Sentiment; insomuch, that the Sick, at least those not at extremity, shew'd themselves as forward as the others; so I beheld Resolution on all sides of me. The other was, so soon as the Signal for the Order of Battle was made, the *St. Lewis*, *Furioux*, *Vermandois*, *St. Michael*, and the *Mutine*, came up so fast, and fell so well into their Stations, that they allow'd us no occasion of doubting of their having the same Resolution with ours; the *Fort*, the *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, and *Marin*, did not obey the Signal, but kept to Windward, where they chanc'd to be; the Captains of the two last were sick, and I had taken from them the greatest part of their Men, to strengthen the great Ships, and had design'd

them for Fire-ships ; but not having time to fit them up for it, nor to fetch away their Sick, they were become altogether incapable of any Service, so I could no ways wonder they did not fall into their order'd Station ; as to the *Fort*, and the *Apollo*, I was apprehensive that the first had lost so many of her Men, that she was not able to make any sort of a Fight ; the other being her Second, did believe, as it is the Custom, that she was not to abandon her Flag, *Du Buiffon*, by the Death of the Vicount *Coetlogon*, then carrying the Flag of Rear-Admiral. At this instant, one of the Enemies Ships having fir'd a Gun upon the Fly-boat, called, *The City of Amsterdam*, who was a good way a-stern of us ; she struck Sail, and surrender'd : They found a great many sick Men on Board her, and a very considerable quantity of Ammunition and Provision. The only *Traversier* left me had the same Destiny with the Fly-boat, with whom she was. But while these things pass'd, we found that half of their Fleet, who in a little time were got within reach of us, were unwilling to engage, until the others to Leeward could come to the Action : Yet being unwilling to hand in their Sails, to stay for the others behind, they kept themselves in a Line, and permitted

mitted us to get before them. We perceiv'd by their working, that we were yet to have some Hours of quiet, and none of us being strong enough to support a long Action, we repos'd our selves in expectation of the Event. About two a Clock in the Afternoon, the Major-General came to me, and told me, There was no farther hopes of delays, that the advanc'd part of the Enemies Fleet was got within less than Cannon-shot, and to Windward of our Squadron, and their great Ships exact a-broadside of our Lee. This being so, the Signal general for the Order of Battle was given, without loss of time; I added to it the particular Signal of the *Fort*, to bring her to her Station; but she only did so much as was necessary, to let us know that she knew her Signal, and then standing to Windward, she confirm'd me in the Thoughts I had in the Morning.

The Affair was sufficiently serious to keep us attentive: We observ'd first of all, that the Ships which might have attack'd us, chose rather to slacken their way, and fell from us; with much regarding of them, I was partly of the Opinion, that it was by going larger away than we who kept close to the Wind, that their

their great Ships had gain'd so much upon us. The fear of deceiving my self in this matter, made me consult all those that I reckon'd able to inform me; and they all being of the same Opinion, I easily penetrated into the Thoughts of the *English* Admiral, who reckon'd there was no Safety for me, but to go before the Wind, for the Streights of *Bahama*; so he propos'd to get so much a Head of me, as to hinder my passage; but I perceiv'd at the same time, that he might be mistaken in his working; because, instead of sailing parallel to the Course we steer'd, his coming up opened an Angle; which in truth, brought him into my Traverse, but in reality at a greater distance than when he was a little a-stern of us; therefore by tacking about, I should be at a greater distance than I was before; besides, I was sure to get something by it.

I was certain, that the Ships which might have attack'd me, durst not do it, and therefore it would not much trouble me, if I did find them in my passage. Upon this, I sent the *Marine-Frigate*, to order all the Ships of the Squadron to tack about, precisely, at the shutting in of Night; that I would light no Fires, nor make any Signal, and that they should

go as close haul'd to the Wind as it was possible. At the time appointed we went about, but we were too near the Enemy to conceal our working from them; one of their small Frigates being likewise got in amongst us, I was oblig'd to give him some Cannon-shot from the *Scepter*, and the *Furieux*, who was something nearer to him; with which he stood so corrected, that we saw him no more afterwards. But the different Signals which the Enemies Ships made by Fires to each other, assur'd us, that they who were most advanc'd, communicated to them behind what pass'd; so we doubted not of our being follow'd. However, the next Day, so soon as it was light, we found the success of our working; for we could only reckon 14 Ships, who follow'd us in a Line one after the other, and not so nigh by far as the Day before; but at the same time we miss'd the *Fort*, *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, *Marin*, and the *Diep* Flyboat: We having not heard any Cannon-shot, we could not think they were taken: However, it was not until the next Day that I was eas'd of this Apprehension, by report of the *Mutine*, that rejoin'd me, acquainting me, That when she carried the Orders for the Ships to go about, those we miss'd being considerably to Windward of us,
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who had by much the Wind of the Enemies when we tack'd, it was much easier for them to get clear, by keeping on their way, than in following me: *Simonet* added, that the *Fort* had lost her Foretop-mast: But having seen all the Enemies Ships standing as we did, at a great distance from each other, there was no reason to fear that ours were pursued.

This separation being not to be remedied, my Thoughts were wholly employed to the preservation of the rest of the Squadron, and to make use of the advantage I had got; I continu'd the same Board, until within twenty Leagues of *Carthagera*, where we were on the 9th of the same Month of *June*. In the Evening I made the Signal of holding the contrary Course; and when it was quite dark, I acquainted the other Ships, with three Guns, that they were to steer West, directly before the Wind: There was then but three of the Enemies Ships that kept within sight of us, and they were a great way from us; they could not imagine what this Signal mean'd, and so kept on the same Board. In the mean while, we ran this Night 22 Leagues, and the next Day found our selves perfectly out of all Business on that side. But to one
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Trouble ended, commonly comes another : It was not possible for us to reach *Bahama*, by holding through the usual passage, that lies between *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, and which is not at all dangerous ; but we were oblig'd to take that to the Southward, terrible for the Shelves, among which we were forc'd to pass, altho' we were altogether ignorant of them ; however, supplying the want of Experience, with our utmost Care and Diligence, we escap'd all the Rocks, and having doubled the Cape of *St. Anthony*, found our selves on the 26th in the entrance of the Streight of *Bahama* ; where we understood by a small *English* Vessel, who fell into our Squadron, coming from *Jamaica*, laden with Indigo and Cotton, to the value of about 25000 Crowns, that the *English* Fleet we had met was commanded by *Nevil*, and was compos'd, at *Barbadoes*, of 13 Ships that came from *England*, of three that were in the Island, and eight *Hollanders*, of which four were very large Ships, and came out of the Streights, who made in all 24 Men of War, to whom were belonging four Fire-ships, and a Ketch : Which was exactly the Number we had seen ; their Intention was to have stayed 24 Hours only at *Jamaica*, but the contrary

trary Winds had detained them eight Days; that their Ships were in good Health, but very ill mann'd, the greatest of them not having above 350 Men, and those of between 50 and 60 Guns, 150 Men: This last Circumstance diminish'd the admiration I was in, that none of them who could have attack'd me, had not begun the Fight by engaging of me, until such time as the rest could get up to them; it may be, they were ignorant of the ill state we were reduc'd to by Sickness, or possibly they did not give Credit to what they might have known by the *Amsterdam* Flyboat; for the Countenance that we shewed them, was no ways answerable to what she could have told them.

Having detach'd away the *Mutine-Frigat* for *St. Domingo*, with the Forces, Inhabitants, and Negroes, that were on Board that part of the Squadron then with me, we steer'd on our Course; nothing material happen'd to us, excepting an Error in our Reckoning: For we were got to the Eastward of *Newfoundland*, when we thought we had been to the Westward; which oblig'd us to go into *Conception-Bay* for Water, that we design'd to have taken at *Placentia*: We
came

Expedition to Carthagena. 127

came to an Anchor on the Fourth of the Month of *August*, having only six Days Water on Board. The Captain of a small Vessel coming from *Barbadoes*, which we took on the Second Instant, did us very good Service in our Anchorage, which we did not know ; but this Vessel which the *Vermandois* mann'd, happend to lose the Squadron in a Mist ; as did also another small Vessel, that we found abandon'd at Sea, upon which we sent likewise some Men, and since we never heard more of them. The great want of some fresh Provisions, oblig'd me to send the Captain of the Prize, taken at *Babama*, to propose to some Fisher-men, retir'd to the bottom of the Bay, called *La Carbonniere*, to supply me with what Cattle they could, and to lend me their Boats to take in Water ; upon which I promis'd, to do them no harm. They answer'd me by the same Messenger, That they had scarce any fresh Provisions ; but they would give me what they had , and accommodate me with their Boats ; provided, I gave them Hostages. The assistance was not considerable enough, to accept it upon this Condition ; so I resolv'd to burn a dozen, or fourteen, pitiful Houses that were there, after I had taken in my Water.

In

In the mean time, I was informed by a Prisoner, That there were eight *English* Men of War at St. *John's*, eight Leagues from us ; sent thither for the Re-establishment of that Colony, ruined by the Governour of *Plaicentia* ; that these Ships, whereof two carried 70 Guns each, and the rest from 50 to 60, had brought 13 Foot-Companies, commanded by *Gibson*, Lieutenant-Governour of *Portsmouth*, who were to stay there ; that *Norris* commanded the Fleet ; and, that in a Council of War, held at our arrival, it was resolv'd, to stand out to fight us. This News made us double our Diligence to get in the Water we wanted, and to prepare our selves, not only to fight the *English*, but to seek them out. To this purpose we got under Sail ; on the Seventh of *August* we stood to *La Carbanmiere*, to burn the little Houses ; but the Weather being so bad, that we could not get to them without danger, besides the inconsiderableness of the place, rendering this Action not sufficiently important, to consume away time upon it, I took the Party to go before St. *John's*, to attack the Enemies, if they had been out ; but apparently, some reflection of the force and largeness of our Ships, had prevented them from coming

coming out, and the Port was so streight, as to render any Attempt upon them impracticable ; I was contented to shew my self, and offer them Battle, which seeing they did not Answer we steer'd for the Coast of *France* upon the Eighth of the same Month of *August* : and on the Twenty fourth of the said Month, in the Fourth Degree of Latitude, and . . . Longitude, we perceiv'd six Ships cruising exactly in the Course we steer'd. Notwithstanding the weakness to which we were reduc'd, our Ships not having then by much, one half of our Complement of Men ; the Number of the Enemies, supposing they were so, did no ways occasion us to fear meeting them ; besides, this place not being a usual cruising station with them ; and on the contrary, very common for the *French* Ships ; there was a great deal of appearance that they were such, and many Conveniences would attend this joining ; so I continu'd on my way : But when I came up with them, three of them appear'd to be three Deck Ships, the fourth equal to ours of 64 Guns, a Frigate of 40 Guns, and another small Vessel, that did not bring her self into the Line ; whilst we were considering of what Country they were, and had brought our selves into Order of Bat-

tle, with the Wind upon the Beam, being the same Method which they had taken in expecting us, they put forth *English* Colours, and contrary to the Custom of that Nation, they did not fire first, altho' we were in less than Cannon-shot. We put forth our Colours, at the same time they shewed theirs; and to do them Justice, it was impossible to make a bolder working than what they shewed; little did they guess the badness of our Condition, nor that the *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, *Furioux*, *Vermandois*, and *St. Michael*, were reduc'd to the weakness of 40 Gun Frigates, not knowing these Circumstances, it must be allowed that they shew'd a great deal of Resolution.

We were so far advanc'd, that the Honour of His Majesty's Arms would not permit us to turn back, but rather to make our selves a passage; and moreover, that Attempt which would infallibly have discovered our weakness, would as certainly have encourag'd the Enemy, upon whom we came within the reach of a *Fusil Boucanniere*, where we then perceiv'd their Beds and Hammocks to be pass'd from the Forecastle to the Quarter-deck, to cover them from our small Shot; this hindered us from discerning the space be-

Expedition to Carthagena. 131

between the Forecastle and Quarter-deck, and occasion'd us to believe them Three-deck-ships; it was easie to mistake them, three being of those great Frigates of 72 Guns, which have that length, width, and depth, so they wanted only some Beams and Planks to unite them; the fourth was something less, and about the strength of the *Furieux*; the fifth a Frigate of 40 Guns; The Commander was in the midst of his Squadron, and my self also in the Center of His Majesty's Ships, both sides being exactly in a Line, I was only to spring my Loofe to come a-broadside of him, and upon my Signal the Fire began, which continu'd from half an Hour after Three, until Seven; and with much more briskness on our side, than I could have expected from our weakness; the Enemy, altho' better provided, in my Opinion, shewed not altogether so much; however, they kept as close to the Wind as it was possible for them.

At the same time the Fight began, they set their Sails as we did, that is, so as to continue on the Course upon which we found them, which was North North-West, a very contrary Course to what I

was to steer, and from which I could not depart ; so I went about in our Line of Battle, to leave the Cape to the East.

In the execution of this, the Fire was pretty violent on both sides ; but the Enemies, instead of going about, continued their Broadfides, which pass'd in a moment, and we got far enough to apprehend any farther damage. In a very little while afterwards, the Enemies went about likewise all at once ; yet I was fully perswaded, they would not endeavour to begin the Fight again, by reason they continu'd their lower Sails furl'd as well as we, who wrought with much trouble through the want of Hands to repair the great damage we suffered in our Sails and Rigging : For as to the Men, there was not abroad the *Scepter* above eleven killed and wounded, and in the other Ships yet less in proportion ; but the *Vermandois* having lost her Foretop-mast, I was extremely troubled, because I did not think her able to get up another ; yet she did not only attempt it in the Night, but perfectly accomplished it early the next Day.

We

Expedition to Carthagera. 133

We continu'd our Course all Night, with an easie Sail, and our usual Lights. The next Day we were in a Condition to have begun again, if the Enemy had followed us ; which we doubted of in the Night, as not discerning any of their Lights ; but it is probable, that they had not less work to repair than we had, so I presume they spent the Night at work, and the next Day we were almost out of fight.

We had done our Business, which was to pass without shame : We had no Advantage to expect from a second Engagement ; but on the contrary, many Inconveniences, and one almost inevitable ; which was, that the Squadron would perish at Sea for want of Provisions, if any endamag'd Ship should considerably detain us. Therefore we kept on our way, and the Enemies followed us until the 26th at Noon, at which time they went about to the other Board.

I cannot refuse making the Officers and Seamen the Acknowledgments I owe them ; for they did, in this occasion, by much go beyond their Strength ; and

with the Good-will they express, if our Force had been something less unequal, the Enemies would have had more trouble to have disengag'd themselves. We came at last into *Brest*, upon the 29th of *August*, 1697.

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